177

[For detailed information on Washo-Northern Paiute religious acculturation as exemplified by the Peyote cult, see 14: Stewart, NR13 Northern Paiute file.]

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

343 516 It is considered especially fit that one sweat on Sunday. This interesting secondary association is so firmly entrenched that I was asked if white people talk to the sun on Sundays as do the Indians. Association of the sweat-house with the sun might be worth tracing.

[177] Regarding the origin of the sweat-house, de Angulo[287] states, "But careful inquiry brings out the fact that the introduction is recent. 'It came about forty years ago, from up north, from the Warm Spring Indians' is the reply I have received from many people." He does not make it clear to just which tribe the statement applies—his Pit River, Klamath-Modocs, or Paiutes—but presumably it refers to the latter. In that case, forty years seems rather too low an estimate. Although I questioned virtually every informant upon the point, Piudy was the only one who had ever heard that sweating was other than indigenous. He said:

> I heard that the sweat-house came this way from far in the northeast on the edge of big water. This was long ago, before my time. Before the Paiute learned to sweat they just bathed in the river.

[173] Other informants invariably declared that the Gidū'tikad[a] had always sweated, and a number attributed the practice to Coyote or otherwise linked it with myth. When Dr. Sam was asked concerning the origin of the sweat-house, he related the following tale:

> In the old days birds were persons. Eagle was hunting deer. They killed nothing. Then they spoke to a little bird like an owl, called topi'.[288] Eagle told him to heat rocks. Then they all sweated in a sweat-house that the little bird built. And the next time they killed many deer. That is how they learned to sweat. Talk to the sun while you are in the sweat-house; that is your god.

---

[287] P. 318.

[288] This term is of interest because of its possible connection with topi'-nava'gia, sweat-house. The suggestion is obvious; either the tale results from secondary association, or the translation of topi'-nava'gia as rock-bathe is a folk etymology.

3: Angulo & Freeland D-5 (1926) 1929
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Sweating, and Sweat-Houses.

515 951 783 The subject of "sweating" as a partly religious, partly social, partly hygienic process, is an important one in the aboriginal life of America. There are two essentially different methods : the steam method and the dry heat method. The typical Californian method is the dry heat. Typical Californians never heard of producing steam by pouring cold water on hot stones. This steam method (with the small, we may even say diminutive hut of skins, mats, or blankets stretched over a frame of willow wands, in which the "bather" sits, or rather crouches), is found today in great use among the Pit Rivers, the Klamath-Modocs, and also among the Paiutes. But careful inquiry brings out the fact that the introduction is recent. "It came about forty years ago, from up north, from the Warm Spring Indians" is the reply I have received from many people. The Pits, in the early days, when they wanted to sweat, made a big fire in the winter-house, men and women dancing and shouting around it, and then everybody rushed out and jumped in the river. As for the Paiutes, they say that they simply never sweated before. It seems that even now the custom is not well established, and that some of the old men frown on it.

Clothing.

294 The clothing is essentially like that of the Plains area in contrast to the Californian clothing, or rather absence of clothing. Thus the men wore trousers or leggings of the chapparreras type, of buckskin, with fringes, and likewise a buckskin shirt with fringed sleeves. The leggings were also used by the Pit Rivers, but, it would appear, more rarely. The shirt was even less customary among them. The natural adjunct of the chaparreras type of trousers is the breech-clout, passing from front to back between the thighs, and held in place by a gee-string. Both tribes made use of the breech-clout. But it is significant that, at the same time, the loin-cloth, i. e. a sort of kilt or apron, was used by both as an alternative. There is a technical name for both kinds of clothing in each tribe. The statement of informants is that "some men wore it that way, some men wore it the other way". Now a loin-cloth with chaparreras is quite inconceivable. They do not go together. This indicates, to my mind, that men sometimes wore the Plains costume, which was only a recent acquisition (say a couple of generations), but that the conservative and less in fashion still adhered to the original California-Basin mode of wearing nothing but a kilt.

223 then were picked up. Even in bands where net present, it was not always used.

197. Ki: + (Kelly, 89): antelope disguise worn while hunting fowl in order to approach game.

200. Ki: + (Kelly, 89): "dancing" sage hens were approached by hunter wearing antelope disguise.

Miscellaneous

224 201. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 255).

208. Wd: - (SC).

204. Wd: - (SC).

209. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255).

210. To: Entrance to hole was closed with brush so that the jack rabbit could not dash out when smoked. He would try to work through the brush, but would be suffocated.

217. Ts: Hawk wing called tüso'ôpº.

● [177] 221. To: Denied by LP, who said flooding out of rodents learned from white people. Wd: (SC).

222. To: - (LP).

Eagle and Other Catching

223 223. Ts: Aeries owned by individual families and descended from father to son. Usually there were plenty of eagles. There was no idea of communal ownership.

225. At: A dry rattling hide was tied to a rope, lowered into an eagle nest, and moved around to frighten the young unprotected birds. The young eagles tried to fly away but were captured when they fell to the ground.

231 229. Tg, Ki: The young eagles, as with babies, were tied in a cradle. They were tied thus wherever they were moved.

240. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 257): eagles "raised in small wickiups."

223 242. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 257).

244. Ts: Wing feathers were taken only when old eagles, which could not fly as a result of gorging too much rabbit meat, were discovered and killed.

244a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 257).

231 248. Ku: A small bird called scalp bird (tsonomö) was sometimes kept in a cage. It was not the mockingbird (toga sugu), which the Shoshone kept. Tg: Hawks were caught when young and tamed so that they stayed uncaged around camp.

Fishing

226 [134] 252a. Loud (156) mentions two genera of trout for area we are considering: mountain trout (Coregonus williamsoni) and big Pyramid trout (Salmo henshawi). To, Tö: Trout were [133] caught by Toe in both Walker and Pyramid lakes. These lakes are slightly brackish from mineral springs in them as well as from evaporation.

[P. 424 (R)]

Washo NT28
Achomawi NS5

N 346 closure roofed with green boughs" (Curtis, 169). Ki: + (Kelly, 106): Used for shamanistic performances.

NAVIGATION

N 501 772. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

773. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 258). To: + (Lowie, 250, fig. 32).

[W 501]

774. Owens Valley: One bundle of tules with gunwales served as balsa (Steward, 258). Ki: Two bundles of tules used to make balsa (Kelly, 150).

775. AK: Gunwales were made on balsas by binding small bundles around top.

[A 501]

776. Paviotso: Tule rope used to lash balsa (Lowie, 233).

N 502 783. Sa: A rabbit net was used as rope and stretched across stream during floods or high water.

FIRE MAKING

N 372 784. Ku: + (Loud, 96, pl. 49,a,b). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

[W 372] 785. Ki: Foreshaft of sagebrush. + (Kelly, 142).

786. To: Charcoal put inside cane to aid start of fire.

790. To: Horn sometimes used on drill.

● [N 177] 791. Sa: Bow drill now used by Sawa, and although time of introduction is not known, it was probably after time of white people.

[N 372] 792. Ku: Willow hearths were most abundant in Lovelock Cave (Loud, 96).

792a. Ki: + (Kelly, 142).

793. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276). To: - (LP).

794. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276). Ki: + (Kelly, 142).

797. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276).

799. Wd: SC had heard that the Tagö, to E of the Wada on a Snake River tributary, could start a fire by striking two stones.

MISCELLANEOUS IMPLEMENTS

Mortar and Pestle

N 442 809. Owens Valley: Not used in Owens Valley, but occurs in Death Valley (Steward, 241). To, Ku: + (LP). The Saidöka, people who lived around Humboldt and Carson sinks before the Paiute, made all mortars; Paiute used them when found, however (GN). AL said that Paiute at Lovelock made mortars. "My mother made a mortar about 40 years ago, and she saw others made." To: "All mortars were made on Jolis Peak when animals were people. Deer made them. The Indians just find them some place. Pestles made by Indians."

[N 773]

[P. 431(A)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N 4N2 872. Owens Valley: + (Steward 227, and fig. 3,j).
W [4N2] 873. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

Scrapers

876. KH: Broken cobble used to scrape inside of hide, especially elk.
883a. KH: Scapula scraper from Humboldt Cave (U.C. Mus. cat. no.: 1-42991) was shown to informants. GH recognized scapula scraper and said it was used in old days to remove hair from hides. Specimen similar to Loud, 40, pl. 13,j.

Awls

885a-888a. Lovelock Cave: Awls from all these bones found in cave (Loud, 36).
890. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 271).

Drill

894. Owens Valley: T-shaped stone drills found archaeologically, but were not recognized by informant (Steward, 271). KH: - (GH). Wa: + (Smith, notes).
894a. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

Flint Flaking

N 324 903. To: Neither BS, LP, nor LP's wife had ever seen any flint flaking, nor had they heard how it was done. More surprising, LP and his wife were ignorant of skin dressing.
906. Tg: BS insisted that the Tagö chipped flint by means of a second piece of flint. The flaker was said to have been white flint held between two sticks tied together or in the split end of one stick, or it was a large piece of flint that was partly wrapped with buckskin. Except that flint replaced the antler tip, the technique was the usual pressure flaking.
909. Ki: + (Kelly, 141).

Skin Dressing

N 281 912. To: LP and wife professed no knowledge of skin dressing. BS furnished facts here presented.
N [177] 924. Pa: "Only during last thirty years have Paiutes smoked skins."

WEAPONS

Bow

N 411 933. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 259). Wd: Self-bow only for children. Ki: Boys' bow (Kelly, 143).
935. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 259). Ki: (KH).
N [172] 937. Owens Valley: + (Steward). Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 97, pl. 47, m) AE: Sinew-backed

[411] [P.432(A)]

Washo NT20
Achumawi NS5

N 413 [72]

1004. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42, pl. 15,j,k).
1005. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 15,j,k).
1005, 1006. Ku: + (Loud, 42, pl. 15,k).
1006. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 15,j,k).
1009a. Arrow straightener similar to University neg. 15-4801, of a Klamath specimen.

Quiver

N 415

1012. Ki: + (Kelly, 145).
1013. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263): for hunting.
1017. Ki: - (BA).
1017a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263): for war. Ki: - (KH).
W [415] 1020. Wa: + (Smith, notes).
1021. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263). AE: Pulled under arm during war. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Miscellaneous Weapons

N 411 [72]

1021a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 100, fig. 16).
1023. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 259). Pa: Tule padding was worn to protect arm from being chafed. Wa: Washo did not have shields but said Paiute did. AE: Elkhide shields were known, but were not common.
W [411] A [411]
1028. K2, Ku: GW knew of a stone-headed club that was found near Nixon, but he never heard of Kŭpa using them. IM described the tŏkuivamu as if it were well known and insisted that it had been used in pre-white times by Kuyui. He called it a tomahawk. Tg, Wd: These northern informants described a stone-headed club similar to the tomahawk of IM except that the stone was covered with buckskin. The hafted stone was sewed into wet buckskin which tightened and hardened as it dried.
N [251]
1028a. Ku: GW had heard of Bannock's use of stone on thong, but doubted that the Paiute ever had such an instrument.

BASKETRY

N 285

Materials

1033. Paviotso: Coiled and twined baskets made by Paviotso, but coiling less frequent and for few types (Lowie, 233). Curtis states that Paviotso made only twined baskets, yet on his published photograph of "Paviotso Basketry" opposite page 74, 5 of the 12 baskets are made by coiled technique. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 65).
N [172] ● 177
Ts, To: Coiled baskets rare in old days, but they were copied from Washo at times. Twining was the fundamental technique. Tŏ: MW denied coiling as old method (see note 863).
1034. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 69). Paviotso: "All Paviotso baskets are made by the twining process" (Curtis, 70).
N [172]
1035a. Lovelock Cave: Twined tule mats, baskets, trays, and carrying cases were found (Loud, pls. 10, 17, 31, and p. 69). Tule baskets were
N [432]

N 285 [418] made for temporary use, especially to transport fish, and were often hurriedly made for an unexpected use, then thrown away once the food had arrived safely to camp. Sa: - (JM). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [285] 1039a. K2: DM did not know where "old-timers" got basketry material. Wa: Dark brown and black obtained from bracken-fern roots. These are buried before use.

W [285] 1040a. Paviotso: "Shoots dyed black by burial in mud" (Curtis, 70). Kü: AL said willow was dyed brown or black just by burying in any ground near Fallon. Color depended on time material was left in ground. Sa, Tg: Informants said willow dyed black by leaving in hot mud.

Basket Weaving

It is interesting that the relative abundance of modern Northern Paiute weaves is just opposite to that of the basketry found in Lovelock Cave, near the center of the Paiute area. Wicker, N [174] denied being known by informants, was the most common type in the cave; coiled ware, considered a recent innovation by the Paiute and less made than twined ware, was second in total number of pieces found in the cave; twined ware, considered by informants as the only true Paiute ware and still much more frequently seen in Northern Paiute basketry collections, was anciently only about a third as common as coiled ware and a tenth as common as wicker.

N [172] 1048b. Lovelock Cave: 1115 pieces of wicker work were found (Loud, pls. 27-28, and p. 60). A small piece of wicker basketry which I obtained from Humboldt Cave was shown to all but one informant. All denied Paiute use of the technique.

1049. Paviotso: "All Paviotso baskets are made by the twining process, ..." (Curtis, 15:70). Ki: BA said, when the technique was discussed, that coil technique was used but he denied that any specific basket was coiled when questioned concerning the several types. The younger men thought coiling a Paiute practice.

N [177 172] Coiling recent introduction (Kelly, 120).

1051-1055. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 65).

1052. Kü: - (AL).

1053. Kü: - (AL).

1056. Paviotso: "I observed a Paviotso woman proceeding from left to right, i.e., clockwise, in sewing a small, semiglobular coiled basket" (Lowie, 233).

1056-1057. Most of my informants were men and so probably did not know the intricacies of basketmaking; however, I tried to supplement their statements by asking the women. Ordinarily, all were unconscious of a fixed procedure and said individuals differed.

1057. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 66).

N [124] 1057a. Kl: A small piece of split-stitch coiling from the 1936 University excavation of Humboldt Cave near Lovelock was shown to informant, and the method of its manufacture was dem-

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Necklaces

W [30]

1324. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N 301

1325, 1326. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 105).

[439]

1326. K2: DM got his dentalia at Susanville about 30 years ago; 25 shells cost seven dollars.

172

1327a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42).

1332. Ki: + (Kelly, 117).

A [30]

1333. Tō: Bought from California. AE: Only women used pine-seed beads. Were used as beads on dress. Obtained from California Indians W of Achomawi.

1334. Paviotso: "Some who paid much attention to appearance had a bone cylinder in the nasal septum" (Curtis, 69). Wd: Fish vertebrae strung to wear were the only bone beads.

W [30]

1335. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N [172]

1336b. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42, also, pl. 12, c and University neg. 15-5931).

Belts

N 293

1337. Tg: Belts were made of wihavi (dogbane).

● 177

1340. Beaded belts made only since white contact.

N 302

1348. Paviotso: Men and women painted face daily with red or white material (Curtis, 69).

296

1361. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 109). Ki: "Red paint is yellow rock which is burned and ground."

[72]

1362. AE: Blue paint in hole near Tittle Hill, SE of Alturas.

A [135]

1363. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 109).

N [322]

1364. At: One Paiute word designates green and blue.

N [135]

1365. Kū, To: Yadupi was obtained in abundance from a site in White Cloud Canyon, SE of Lovelock. The property now belongs to Mr. John T. Reid, mining engineer, who called the shiny powder "hematite." Mr. Otto F. Heizer, another mining engineer of Lovelock, identified the material as Fe_3O_4, "speculorite." I suspect it is the same as that listed by Steward as "galena," which it resembles. It was used to ward off evil spirits, especially bad dreams. Ki: Yadupi got from Nixon Indians. AE: Yadupi was obtained from the Paiute even in early days before white people.

N [176]

A [439]

Hair Dressing

W [302]

1375. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N 302

1378. Paviotso: "Men arranged the hair in 2 braids, with the ends wrapped with strips of otter fur" (Curtis, 61).

1382. Ki: – (Kelly, 115, but she cites De Angulo's statement that the hair was worn loose).

1386. Tg: Tagō women learned braiding of hair from Araitsi of Warm Springs, Oregon. Before that they just let hair hang loose. Borrowed braiding style before white people arrived.

W [302]

1387. Wa: – (Smith, notes).

N [172]

1390a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 38).

1396. Tō: Pitch in the hair or on the hands

N 302 was removed by washing in water to which has been added ground piñon nuts.

1401. Ki: +, for youths and girls (Kelly, 115).

Headgear

N 291

1406. Paviotso: "They had basketry hats" (Lowie, 217). Tō: Only a few of the women wore basketry hats, and those women only wore them from time to time, especially when gathering piñon nuts.

N [285 177]

1408a. Tō: The twined sagebrush-bark hat was used after the arrival of the white people. (Figured here is a John T. Reid specimen, probably made by a Küpa Indian; Robert H. Heizer photograph.)

1416a. Paviotso: Badgerskin caps occasionally worn (Lowie, 217).

1423. Ki: + (Kelly, 114).

1425. Tg: Fur eyeshade sewed on cap. Ki: - (Kelly, 114, said eyeshades were only on caps).

1426. Tō: "No headband in old days" (GW). MW said she had heard of use for games even before the white contact.

Robes and Capes

N [284]

1432. Paviotso: Baby blankets of sagebrush made (Lowie, 217). Ki: + (Kelly, 135).

W A [291]

1436, 1440. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1441. AE: Whole wood-rat fur turned inside out, served as warm mittens even before white contact. To: + (LP).

Shirts and Dresses

1444. Owens Valley: Women wore nothing above their waist, skirts from there down (Steward, 274). K2: Men seldom killed deer enough to supply skin clothes. Kū: Only the best hunters were able to furnish their families with skin clothes. Most people wore nothing. Tō: The Tōvusi were good hunters, consequently women had plenty of buckskins to make clothes. The Toe were less active hunters so that their women had to wear grass skirts. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

1445. Ki: Gown is shown by Kelly (pl. 20, a,b).

W [291]

1461. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

1462. K: Pyramid Lake Paiute buckskin shirt in Field Museum (Steward, 274). Ki: Picture of men's shirt and pants (Kelly, pl. 20,c,d). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [291]

Skirts

1475. Paviotso: "Men of the better class belted two deerskins about the waist" (Curtis, 69).

[p. 436 (A)]

Ring and Dart

N 524 W [524] 1811. Wa: CR said he had heard of ring-and-dart game among his tribe, although he knew no particulars. Tg: DS had heard of game among other tribes. The Tagö did not have it. Ki: + (Kelly, 171, describes this as a ring-and-arrow game, in which one person holds the ring through which another tries to throw arrows). I conceived of ring and dart as the game where ring is held in the hand and darts are thrown at it.

Quoits, Juggling

1822. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 288).
1838. Tö: Juggling only introduced since time of white contact. Sa: JM thought juggling strictly post-contact. SL said it was aboriginal.

Foot Race, Stilts

1845. Wd: Women used to race.
1853. Tg: Girls also used stilts.

Jacks, Tops, Sling, Bull-roarer

1855. Tö, Wd, Ki: Playing jacks introduced by white people. Ki: + (Kelly, 171).
1859. Ki: Top spinning learned from white people.
A [224 411] 1868a. AE: Sling also used for hunting and fighting.
1869. Lovelock Cave: Baked clay balls were found which Gilbert Natchez (Küpa) thought were used in a guessing game (Loud, 109). Natchez denied such a game when I asked him.
N [534 789] 1870. Tö: Bull-roarer known only since 1850. An especially feathered arrow made a similar noise. At: Bull-roarer used only to melt snow. Whirrer of juniper had to be painted red.
1873. Kü: + (AL).

Cat's Cradle, Dolls, Water Pistol

1875. Tö: Cat's cradle denied as an aboriginal trait. GW insisted that no Paiute ever made string figures and when told that ND made them he said, "Old Nick learned that from the Saidöka; his mother belonged with them on the Pit River. She taught him." Ki: - (Kelly, 177, understood cat's cradles as a recent innovation from white people).
N [177] [787] 1875a. Kü: AL knew of string figure to "determine sex of child," but that was all. GW denied any such games.
N [177 857] 1883. To: - (LP). Tö: "All Paiutes learned to play with dolls from white children" (MW).
1886a. To: - (LP).

MONEY

N 436 177 1888. K1, K2: Although DG said bead money is a recent Washo acquisition, his brother, DM,

[p.438(2)]

N 436 177 489 W [439] insisted that bead money was very old among Paiute. Ki: Shell beads obtained from California to use as money even before white man arrived. Wa: – (Smith, notes).

Tobacco and Smoking

N 276 1895. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319): Field Museum has specimen from Smith Valley. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 52). Wa: Stone for pipes obW [135] tained in mountains near Topaz.

1902. Ki: + (Kelly, 139): Kelly was told by some informants that the elbow pipe was aboriginal, others denied it. She shows an elbow pipe on her plate 32,b.

N [177 772] 1905. The monitor pipe was known to be a recent introduction.

1906a. Lovelock Cave: Loud (pl. 52,a).

W [276 756 387] 1910. Wa: Only "doctors" and a few old men smoked much in old days.

1914. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319).

1915. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

1916. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 320).

N [782] 1926. Tg: "One old Paiute from Steen Mountain offered smoke to spirits" (DS). He was Tŏtsikwŏkwa, or Tsi Rida Jim, a relative to Lee and Old Winnemucca.

N [756 782] 1928a. To, TŬ: Shaman did not make offering of smoke to spirits. He did, however, hold the pipe toward the east and the sun would light it.

Tobacco

N 249 824 Paviotso: + (Lowie, 215): called pu'iBa^{ts}.

1931a. AE: Skunk fat also rubbed on tobacco.

1933. Ki: + (Kelly, 181): said manzanita, Arctostaphylos nevadensis Gray, was mixed with Nicotiana.

N 534 ## MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Rattles

1944. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

W [534] 1950. Pa: It was used only by Mono Indians when they came to Walker Lake to dance. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N [372 756] 1953. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 14, p. 44).

1960. "The Paviotso rattle was employed only by shamans, and consisted of the two ears of a deer sewn together" (Curtis, 71). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

N [178] 1965. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 44).

N [281] 1970, 1971. Hoofs are first tied in line along a buckskin string; the string is wound about the end of a short stick to form a bunch.

1973. Owens Valley: – (Steward, 278): his informants thought "musical rasp" used at Pyramid Lake.

N [178 756] K: + (Lowie, 304): notched stick on skin resonator used in antelope dance. Sa: Notched rasp was introduced to Sawa with the Bear dance about 20 years ago. Previous to that time the antelope shaman was only one to use it.

N 534 Tg: Notched stick borrowed from north about 30 years ago.

Buzzers

1981. To: Plaything brought in by white folks.

Drum; Musical Bow

N [77] 1985. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): yet Owens Valley Indians said Walker Lake Paiute used drum. To: - (LP). To: Before white people, drum was unknown to Paiute. Wd: - (BJ). Single-headed drum obtained from Hunipui before white people arrived (SC). Ki: - (Kelly, 147): says drum was recently acquired, but my informants insisted it was always known. Paviotso: Drum not found (Curtis, 71).

W [534] 1994. Mono Lake: + (Steward, 278). Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Whistle; Flute

N [756] 2002. Paviotso: "The medicine men used also bird-bone whistles" (Curtis, 71). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2003. To: Whistles also used by Indian doctor. Wa: Whistle was double type; used only by

W [756] Indian doctor.

2004. To: Flute known since white contact.

N [77] Wd: - (SC). Owens Valley: + (Steward, fig. 9, p. 277).

2005. Paviotso: - (Curtis, 71).

N [172] 2007. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 39).

MARRIAGE

2018. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 295).

2019. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

2020. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N [684] 2023. To: If a husband learns that his wife has been with another man, a fight always follows, after which both men leave the woman and will have no more to do with her.

N 595 [77] 2027. At: A polyandrous marriage in McDermitt now with woman married to two men who are not brothers. "In old days people would not allow a woman two husbands at once." (See Stewart, 1937.)

W [583] 2037. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N 591 2039. Ki: Kelly, 166, reports "initial matrilocal residence was the rule."

2040. To: Residence variable; however, usually it is matrilocal.

N 684 2041. Kl: Al said women were stoned to death for infidelity in old days. To: Wife is beaten if caught in the act by husband.

2041, 2042. To: - (LP).

N 586 2045, 2046. To: - (LP).

2047. To: No divorce (LP).

548 2050. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

[p. 439]

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

A [756 787] 2552. AE: Power for wound curing came from dream of frog.

N 756 789 2553. AE: Charlie Turner was last great Indian "doctor" who could make it rain at will. Just before he died, "maybe twenty years ago," he brought a bad storm when a rancher would not sell him a ton of good alfalfa hay but told him to take free some wild hay.

W [756] 2553a. Wa: The Washo had heard of Jack Wilson's power to control weather, but no Washo shaman possessed the art. Legends concerning the special powers possessed by Jack Wilson were extremely widespread. Some informants spoke of him as soon as I mentioned control of weather, others remembered hearing of him when I mentioned his name. Wd: Old Winnemucca said to have had power to control weather.

N 754 2554. To: See note 2549.

756 [83] 2558. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2562. Kl: Poisoners became doctors as did other people, yet they used power for evil instead of for good. A good shaman could detect a poison doctor and upon his accusation the poisoner was killed and cremated. To: Death is caused by foreign object sent into victim by poison doctor. A good doctor can suck this out and save patient. Wa: CR and Susie said that Old Captain Pete's wife is a poisoner. They said she caused the death of Susie's son just a few months before I interviewed them on July 19, 1936.

Miscellaneous

N 755 756 [77] 2569. K2, To, Sa: In old days shaman's fee was returned if person died. Nowadays shamans do as white doctors and so keep fee regardless of state of patient. AE: Payment is not made until patient is well.

A [755] 2570a. At: See note 2477.

2574. Kl: In addition to the usual phenomena—mountains, trees, crows, snakes, clouds, which functioned as personal powers of shaman—the Northern Paiute had water babies (paoha). A mean water baby lived in Winnemucca Lake; it would cause the death of anyone who saw it. The one in Pyramid Lake was not so bad if placated by saying, "This water in lake is for both of us. Don't hurt me; we're both the same." A great green snake in Winnemucca Lake was also dangerous.

N 776

N 782 2577. To: Offering made to spirits by sprinkling seeds during the spring dances and by sprinkling on grave. (Also see note 401, To.)

N 782 765 2578. Kl: Dead were given food, beads, and other things, sprinkled on the ground while old man said, "Don't come back, stay away, we don't want you."

W [783] 2581-2590. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

2581a. Ceremony described under note 401, To.

[p. 444 (A)]

Nonshamanistic Curing

N 757 [34] 2595. TÜ: John Wright, 38 years old, has been bled twice: once from the arms when they became stiff and sore because a menstruating woman ate a rabbit he had killed, once from the head to relieve headache. The latter bleeding was done by a Bannock woman at Fort Hall; the former was done at Stillwater.

Destiny of Soul

N 755 2599. KÜ: Jack Wilson got a song that said the Milky Way is a trail to heaven.

N 276 2613. K2: Steward, 318, mentions muipŏ distinct from jimsonweed in Owens Valley. The bands I visited denied use or knowledge of jimsonweed, but several recognized muipŏ as the name of a powerful medicine "from Bishop." IM said it could be seen at night, its roots grew in 5 directions, it was good luck in gambling, it would strengthen horse and man if rubbed on or chewed, and he knew prayer was offered before and after digging it. IM knew that Tom Williams in Carson City used muipŏ. Sa: JW and SL said it was powerful magic, but dangerous, and would kill its possessor if kept too long. Pa: DW described muipŏ by saying, "It is like Spanish fly."

N [525] 177

N 782

DANCES

Circle Dance

N 535 [226] 2618. K1: Circle dance at any time. At Nixon it was held especially during Kuyui fish time, when Indians from all around came to fish.

Bear or "Back-and-forth" Dance

N [177] A [535] 2652. KÜ: Bear Dance: Called "Back-and-forth Dance" (natotcakwi naga) and "Rasp Dance" (wühü nagi naga). Introduced about 20 years ago, from Shoshone. AE: Achomawi had a Back-and-forth dance which was held in connection with girl's first-menstruation ceremony, but it was not the Bear dance.

2660. KÜ: If the dance is free, any man touched is supposed to dance; if it is a "pay dance," the man could refuse if he wished.

2670. At: In old days each dance was held separately; nowadays all, or any, dances held at the same time.

"South" or Exhibition Dance

2674. K1: DG saw this at Yerington but never at Nixon.

2677. KÜ: Dance costume as in Steward, plates 7 and 8.

Crazy Dance

2711. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 85): tûnâă-nûgû was a clown dance.

2713. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 85).

had often had important repercussions upon the culture of the peoples under consideration. Before the Northern Paiute of Central Oregon had any real and immediate contacts with the Whites, for example, the need of retired Hudson's Bay employees and other early Willamette Valley settlers for Indian slaves to work their farms, and the need of miners in southern Idaho and northeastern Oregon for supplies, probably had had a good deal of effect upon the choice of habitat, and some of the manners and customs of the Oregon Paiutes. How else is one to explain, for instance, the presence of roving, peaceably inclined Northern Paiutes in the Willamette Valley at the opening of the 19th century, and their absence in this region before the middle of the same century, or how is one to account for an early 19th-century, sparsely distributed, unmounted, hunting-gathering population being organized in relatively large, mounted predatory bands, by the late 1850's and the 1860's?

To continue with the Northern Paiute of Central Oregon as our example. Elderly Northern Paiute informants undoubtedly gave, in all honesty and with as much accuracy as memory allowed, to those ethnographers working with them in the 1930's and '40's, what the informants knew about native life as it was lived when they were boys and girls, or young men and women. Whatever else informants gave, on the authority of deceased relatives, was tradition. And as we know, oral tradition can be a combination of accuracies and inaccuracies, interlarded with a good deal of reasoning after the fact. All this information, or "field data," was then used as the basis for several monographs purporting to describe the aboriginal way of life of various groups of Oregon-Northeastern California Paiutes.

Unfortunately, the monographs referred to do not describe, in our judgment, the aboriginal culture of these groups. By 1860-1870 many of the Oregon Paiute had had horses for five to fifteen years, at least. They had also had heavily loaded, poorly guarded supply trains and emigrant trains, and droves of cattle, horses, and mules

114 passing over well defined trails and roads in their general area,
77 for about the same length of time or longer. They had had volun-
[648] teer forces and United States Army forces pursuing them, burning their winter stores and killing or taking as many of them captive as possible, during this period. These were only some of the direct influences operating on their mode of living and political organization at this time. There were also indirect, far-reaching influences that had been operative from a much earlier date; the emigration of several thousand settlers to the Willamette Valley, beginning in 1843, was one such.

In the light of the above, we have certain suggestions to make.
114 First, that ethnologists discard the notion that any ethnography of
121 a North American Indian group describes that group's "aboriginal culture." (We have grave doubts that such an ethnography could ever have been written, except, possibly, in 1492—if one had been quick about it.) Secondly, we suggest recognition of the fact that North American Indian ethnographies be taken as relating in general to a period coincident with the early years of the informants who supplied the data upon which such ethnographies are based. Taking Kelly's Surprise Valley Paiute monograph as an example, we note that the field work which this study is based on was done in 1930, and that the several Surprise Valley Paiute informants used were, at that time, about 60-70 years old. This dates Kelly's material as relating to the period 1860-1870. We have indicated in parts 2.2 and 3.2 of this paper (pp. 103, 110, 251, 253, 254, fns. 49,
[621] 110, 213, 234) something of the condition of the Surprise Valley Paiute during this decade. They were organized, possibly, as a predatory band in the early 1860's; by the early 1870's they were on the Klamath Reservation at Yainax, but the locale they preferr was near Camp Warner, an Army post some distance east of the Reservation. What Kelly has to say about the social and political organization of the Surprise Valley Paiute fits the 1860-1870 pictur of this group, but is full of unresolved uncertainties as regards th Northern Paiute of the Surprise Valley region in aboriginal times

114 121 and to those of even remoter regions of the globe. It is true Worl War II had something to do with this; but looking back, not too much. Had North American Indian ethnology, in the decade 1945-1955, been more firmly established methodologically, it would not have lost so many workers to other parts of the world as it has.

The weakness of a basic assumption made by American ethnologists in the 1910's, '20's, and '30's—namely, that through field work with elderly informants they could secure reasonably complete descriptions of aboriginal North American Indian cultures—has turned out, under testing, to have been a false assumption. The published results of this field work of the period 1910-1940 are inadequate and unsatisfactory for answering basic questions about North American Indian groups and their aboriginal cultures, such as arise in Indian Land Claims cases, for example. The results are unsatisfactory chiefly because of a fairly appalling lack, on the part of field workers, of any knowledge of the ethnohistorical background of the peoples whose cultures were being studied. Ignoring history, the ethnologists set themselves too ambitious a task; and as a result, presented all-too-unrealistic, overly formalized, and often misleading or partly erroneous descriptions of so-called "aboriginal" North American Indian cultures. Taking, whenever it was possible to do so, first immediate White contact as a starting point, the ethnologist relied on what he was told by elderly or knowledgable informants concerning the culture of their group at or around the immediate contact period, and presented this data as a valid picture of an "aboriginal culture." Reliable informants' statements were generally regarded as gospel, and little use was made by the field worker of published documentary material, to say nothing of archival or otherwise unpublished data. In two graduate Anthropology Departments that we know of, investigation of documentary material was explicitly discouraged, in the '30's. White influences emanating from outside an area under field survey, or even what was going on in non-Indian affairs within the area of those peoples whose culture was being studied, was not important for the ethnological field worker. Yet such factors

114 121 177

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

It seems highly probable that the "partially friendly Klamaths" who assisted Huntington were the Sprague River Klamath group under Motcunka'skEt or, if not that, that Motcunka'skEt must have either attended the 1865 treaty proceedings, which were held eight to ten miles west of Bly,[71] or at least have met Huntington when the latter was in Sprague River Valley. K 101 648

Nonetheless when Huntington returned to Salem, Ore., and sent in his Annual Report for 1865, plus a special list of the population of all the Indians in Oregon, he estimated the Klamath at 1,200, the Modoc at 700, and the "Yahooskin Snakes" at 100 souls.[72] But he fails to note, anywhere in this Report, that any additional Yahuskin had moved to Klamath Reservation to join the twenty-two Yahuskin present at the 1864 treaty-signing, so as to bring the total number of Yahuskin up to a hundred. His estimate of one hundred Yahuskin in 1865 fits the probable size of Motcunka'skEt's group, which Drew says was "small."[73] K 114 161

In September, 1865, Lindsay Applegate, Oregon pioneer who had served as interpreter at the 1865 Walpapi treaty in Sprague River Valley,[74] was appointed Klamath Indian Agent, and assigned to duty in the vicinity of Klamath Lake.[75] He was then living in Ashland Mills (Ashland, Ore.); after his appointment he made two trips to Ft. Klamath in October and December, 1865. During his October visit Applegate "sent out a deputation of Yahooskin Snakes" with Panai'na and some of the Walpapi Snakes who had come on the Reservation as a result of the Walpapi treaty of 1865, to try to make a treaty of amity with one Howlark, a hostile Snake chief then reported to be in the vicinity of Sprague River Valley.[76] This attempt was unsuccessful.[77] On his December, 1865, visit Applegate issued rations at Ft. Klamath to the "few" Walpapi Snakes Panai'na had brought with him to the Reservation, and issued some flour to the Klamath and also to the "Yahooskins," who at the time were also at the Fort.[78] K N 648

The next year, 1866, was an eventful one. In April Panai'na and his Walpapi Snakes left the Klamath Reservation.[79] In May, 1866, Applegate again journeyed from Ashland Mills to Upper Klamath Lake, and started farming operations at Kowasti, the site of the first Agency, eight miles south of Ft. Klamath. The Klamath and Yahuskin helped him in these operations, and the future agency began to take shape. During the sum- N [166] K N [177 241]

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

K N 622 648

In 1870 "Old Chief 'Moskosket'" of the Sprague River Klamaths was, by Commissary Applegate's order, "reduced and broken of his rank for disafection [sic] among not only his own, but other bands of Indians. His place has been filled by the election of 'Barcley' [LeLu] a man every way fit to fill the office."[236] The Walpapi Snakes continued to be represented by Tcháktot, however; this chief is frequently mentioned as active in Indian affairs at Yainax, in the records of the Oregon Superintendency for the late 1860's and 1870's.[237] There is only one possible reference, as far as I know, of the other Walpapi chief whom Lindsay Applegate names as having come on the Reservation at the same time Tcháktot did. In his monthly report for April, 1872, Ivan D. Applegate says: "The Summer Lake band of Snakes under Chief Chocktoot and Kilo-to-ik[238] are decidedly in favor of remaining permanently here, and take much interest in ... farming operations, and in improvement generally."[239]

N [177] [241]

In 1869 Col. Elmer Otis, commanding the District of the Lakes, states that "Choe-tote's Band" numbered "about one hundred and eighty (180) Indians, young and old, male and female."[240] In 1872 the population of the Walpapi Snakes is officially given as 38 males, 60 females, total 98;[241] this agrees with Col. Otis' statement of the same year that "Choctote's band then consisted of about 100 souls."[242] In March, 1872, however, Ivan D. Applegate wrote from Yainax that "During the month the Klamath Indians of this place[243] together with about one hundred and fifty Snakes went with permission to Lost River where they have caught and dried a very large supply of fish. The Ocheo or Piute band remaining here."[244] In 1873 Klamath Indian Agent L. S. Dyar gives the Walpapi population as one hundred and twenty-eight.[245]

N [161] 648

K N 226 251

N [161]

Direct descendants of Tcháktot and Panai'na still live at the "Piute Camp" near Beatty, Ore.,[246] but as far as I could judge from a brief visit at Klamath Agency in 1952, the name Walpapi has passed out of common usage. Members of the single Northern Paiute group now living on the Klamath Reservation are usually

N 101 [361

In December, 1825 Peter Skene Ogden, Hudson's Bay trader, also found evidence of Snakes in the Deschutes region. Ogden came across two abandoned Snake camps, one consisting of forty huts, in the Deschutes-Crooked River country; he also notes that "Nez Perce" trappers had preceded him up the "River of the Falls," thereby indicating that the resources of this region were used not only by Snakes, but by other Indians as well (Elliott, Ogden Journals, vol. 10, pp. 343-345).

Ten years after Ogden, Nathaniel Wyeth, early Oregon pioneer from New England, found both Walla-Walla and Snake Indians around the junction of the Deschutes and Crooked rivers, in January, 1835. The Walla Wallas were hunting deer from horseback; no mention is made of the Snakes having horses (Young, Correspondence, p. 247). In the same general region Wyeth also met "Three lodges of friendly Snakes who had no meat or guns" and ten miles farther south he came upon eight lodges of Snakes (ibid., p. 246).

Frémont also met "a few Snake Indians of the root-digging species" with a village of Nez Perce Indians who "had with them five bands of horses," on the east bank of the middle Deschutes River, in December, 1843 (Frémont, Report, p. 202).

In 1858, three years after the Warm Springs Reservation had been established by treaty on the west bank of the middle course of the Deschutes River, one group of Snakes, at least, were living opposite the Reservation on the east bank of the river. Dennison notes that in 1858 these Snakes had visited the Warm Springs Agency frequently during the year, and had been given a little tobacco on such occasions. Of their habits he says, "They subsist principally on insects, juniper berries, and roots; they kill some game, the skins of which furnish them with clothing; they have no horses or guns, but are said to be very fleet on foot and expert with the bow and arrow" (RCIA 1858 [CDS #974] p. 616). In January, 1859, Dennison visited a Snake camp east of Warm Springs (see fn. 140).

As before remarked, none of the early travelers, or Dennison in 1858 and January, 1859, refer to the Deschutes River Snakes as being hostile; McKenzie says those on the Willamette also were friendly. Possession of horses or guns is specifically denied, thereby indicating that they had done little or no raiding. Huntington states that prior to 1855 the Warm Springs Indians (Wascos and Des Chutes) had been friendly with the Snakes, and that it was only after this that enmity arose between them (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1248] p. 72; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to

648 721 N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868). The military clearly places the blame for starting hostilities on the Warm Springs Agency physician: "The General commanding believes it was the conduct of Dr. Fitch last spring in attacking the Snakes [726] with a party of the reservation Indians that excited the Snakes into the subsequent attack upon the agency.... A continuation of such conduct...by Agent Dennison will lead...to a border war...." (ibid., Letters Received, A. Pleasanton to E. R. Geary, Ft. Vancouver, W. T., Oct. 15, 1859); Capt. H. D. Wallen also calls the same raid "retaliatory" (ibid., Wallen to E. R. Geary, Ft. Vancouver, W. T., Dec. 10, 1859), but Indian Agent G. H. Abbott, who succeeded Dennison, had another explanation (ibid., Abbott to E. R. Geary, Warm Springs, Ore., Jan. 28, 1860).

579 726 648 Be this as it may, the temper of the Deschutes Snakes changed very quickly, some time in 1859. In his annual report for that year Dennison states that the Warm Springs Reservation had "one great drawback," namely, "the frequent attacks of the Snake Indians who live on the western slope of the Blue Mountains, directly opposite the reservation on the eastern side of the Des Chutes river. These attacks are generally made in the night time, for the purpose of stealing stock; but several of the friendly [Warm Springs] Indians, while out herding their stock, have been fired upon and wounded by the Snakes, and some of them killed.... The Snakes having made several attempts to run off the horses and cattle belonging to the [Indian] department, and threatened to burn the agency buildings and fences, I made application to the Commander of the Military Department of Oregon General W. S. Harney for a force sufficient to protect the public property" (RCIA 1859 [CDS #1023] p. 801). Contrast this with Dennison's report on his January, 1859 visit to Weahweah's camp (fn. 141).

It is in the year 1859 that references to Panai'na start.

104 152. See fns. 141, 142. Weawewa's name is written variously; there is no phonetic transcription of it that I know of.

153. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868; Wallen, Affairs in Oregon.

191 648 177 Superintendent A. B. Meacham, who succeeded Huntington, states that "many years" prior to 1869 Weawewa had been a captive at Warm Springs, and had learned to speak Chinook jargon and some "Boston" (English) (Meacham, Wigwam, p. 226).

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

ENVIRONMENT AND HISTORY

101 [77] THE Paiutes now living outside Burns, in southeastern Oregon, are remnants of the Wadadika (Wada Eaters) band of the northern Paiutes. Their former habitat was Harney Valley, centering around Malheur and Harney Lakes and extending north to the headwaters of the Silvies and Silver rivers and south to Catlow Valley. On the east the members of the band wandered as far as Drewsey and Riverside on the Malheur River and the eastern base of the Steenes Mountains, and on the west to the vicinity of Wagontire.[1] They did not [423 consider that they owned this land to the exclusion of all other people but in their 62]] seasonal wanderings they kept pretty much within these boundaries. They were surrounded by other Paiute bands who, like the Harney Valley Paiute, were named after their staple food. On the north were the Hunibuidika (Hunibui Eaters) and Patihichidika (Elk Eaters), on the northeast the Agaidika (Salmon Eaters), on the southeast the Tagudika (Tagu Eaters) (Jordan Valley Paiute), on the south the Guinidiba (?) (McDermitt Paiutes), on the southwest the Gididika (Ground Hog Eaters) (Surprise Valley Paiute) and Yapadika (Yapa Eaters), and on the northwest the Watihichidika (Juniper-Deer Eaters).[2]

132 The area formerly inhabited by the Wada Eaters is semi-arid, the rainfall being four to eighteen inches yearly. The mean temperature is forty-six degrees Fahrenheit but varies from one degree in the winter to one hundred degrees in the summer. The flora of the valley and foothills is that of the artemesia belt of the

[1] See map. For detailed account of their terrain see "Tribal Distributions in Eastern Oregon and Adjacent Regions" by Verne F. Ray and others (*American Anthropologist*, vol. 40, no. 3, July-September, 1938).

101 114 [2] This picture of the band distribution corresponds roughly with Omer Stewart's mapping in *The Northern Paiute Bands* (Anthropological Records of the University of California, vol. 2, no. 3, 1939), although he does not differentiate between Juniper-Deer Eaters and Hunibui Eaters and places the Salmon Eaters further east. He also includes the Elk Eaters with the Hunibui Eaters. Actually each one of these bands could be broken up into smaller units. There was no real political organization within the bands and the named groups merely designated people who tended to visit the same food gathering locales year after year. These people also generally wintered in camps clustered around the same vicinity. In the case of the Wada Eaters they wintered in the vicinity of Wadaba (Malheur Lake), which was the place where wada grew most plentifully. The Tsitsiadi, which Stewart mentions as a separate tribe, was the name given to a group of families who wintered east of the Steenes. They consisted of four brothers and their families. One brother married Old Winimucca's daughter, which probably explains the statement made by Stewart that Old Winimucca was their chief (see Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 134). Actually they were most closely affiliated with the Wada Eaters, but during the troubled times preceding and during the Bannock uprising they joined old Winimucca's faction.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Before 1865 there was not much danger from enemies of any kind and co-operation for protection was not necessary. After this date raids made it dangerous for families to wander alone and modifications had to be made in the old way of life.

There were no true chiefs in the early period. Men were needed to head the antelope and rabbit hunts, but these men were picked for their skill or because they owned the nets; they were not necessarily consulted on other subjects. In general the older, more experienced men advised people when to settle down for the winter and when to break up camp and go after the different foods; but they had no authority beyond that which the wisdom of their advice bestowed upon them.

The continual wandering of the people was not always confined within the boundaries described above. Sometimes families wandered off into the terrain of other bands to visit relatives, and sometimes even spent the winter there. Adolescents often traveled in groups to see the world and returned with wives from other bands. Later they would return with their families to visit their in-laws or would take up residence in the other band for a period of years.

Such were the conditions which existed before the founding of the Malheur Reservation and the radical changes which came with the settlement of white ranchers in Harney Valley. Before the whites actually moved into the valley their effect was felt. The bands to the east, west, and north were forced toward Wadadika land. By 1860 most of the Indians in Oregon, with the exception of the Paiutes, were supposedly settled on reservations. The Juniper-Deer-Eaters, who centered around the Crooked River to the south of the Molala and Tenino, were already on the Warm Springs Reservation, but they were the only Paiutes on reservations until 1864, when the Yahuskin band (Yapa Eaters band) agreed to move on to the Klamath Reservation. According to the report of C. J. Kappler in the records for the 57th Congress,[1] a treaty was made in 1865 with the Woll-Pah-pe tribe of the Paiutes, whereby they ceded their land to the government and agreed to take up residence on the Klamath Reservation. The area designated as the habitat of this band included the land owned by the Hunibui Eater and the Elk Eater bands. Whatever the treaty may have been, all the members of these bands did not move to the Klamath Reservation. It would seem rather that few if any of them went. In the later reports of the Malheur Reservation, Chief Weewa and Chief Oites and their people are cited as being one of the bands of Paiutes on this reservation and they belonged to the band which ceded this land to the government in 1865. What actually seems to have happened is that after they signed the treaty they were forced to leave the land which had been their habitat, and instead of moving to Klamath descended south into the vicinity of Drewsey and the head-

[1] As cited by G. P. Brimlow, in *The Bannock Indian War of 1878* (Caxton Printers, 1938), p. 29. Kappler reference cited as C. J. Kappler, "Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties," Sen. Ex. Doc. 452, Ser. 4254, 57th Con., 1st Sess., Vol. 2, p. 671 (1903 edition).

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

177 657 648 waters of the Malheur River. The treaty was probably forced upon them because of the opening of mines in the vicinity of Canyon City, which was in their terrain, and the consequent movement of many white settlers into this area.

622 It was during this period that chiefs came into being. With the stress which the white pressure caused, the men who came forward with proposals for action were followed by those who did not know which way to turn. Weewa, Oites, Egan, Winimucca, Leggins, and Ochico were names well known to both whites and [656] Indians of this period. Most of them had supernatural power which made them bullet proof and courageous in facing the guns of the soldiers sent against them.[8] Weewa and Oites were Hunibui Eaters, Egan was a Salmon Eater, one of whose parents was a Umatilla, Winimucca and Leggins[9] were Guinidiba (McDermitt), and Ochico was a Ground Hog Eater (Surprise Valley).

177 Harney Valley and southeastern Oregon were the last parts of the state to be actually settled.[10] Fur traders like Peter Skeen Ogden and Jed S. Smith visited the area as early as 1826, but in general the valley was south and north of the routes used by the immigrant trains headed for the Willamette Valley and California. In 1845, the first immigrant train went through the area but they had a very difficult time. A second train went through in 1853. In 1867, the first permanent settlement was made when Camp Harney was established. This was one of several military camps set up during the sixties to protect the miners and west-bound immigrants. In 1869, John S. Devine brought the first cattle into the valley. The first actual nonmilitary settlement was started by George A. Smyth when he and his sons moved into Harney Valley with horses and cattle and started a ranch at Warm Springs, five miles from the present town of Burns.

177 648 [679] From the year 1865 on, there were constant complaints by the whites and the Columbia River tribes against the Paiutes. It was said that they were stealing cattle and horses. A group of soldiers, aided by pacified Shoshoneans and Umatillas, made a series of retribution raids on the Paiute camps. For two years there was constant friction. Finally General Howard was sent down to round up the Paiutes in Harney Valley and make some kind of an agreement with them. This probably took place in 1868 or 1869. At the time of the round-up there were members of the Hunibui Eater, Salmon Eater, Ground Hog Eater, and Wada Eater bands in the valley. The Salmon Eaters had wandered west from the vicinity of the Snake and 648 657 Weiser Rivers. In 1872, the Malheur Reservation was set aside for the different groups who had been rounded up. An attempt was also made to bring members of Winimucca's band (Guinidiba) from McDermitt onto the reservation. In the

[8] I have definite evidence as to this with respect to Weewa, Oites, Egan, and Winimucca. Winimucca was also a doctor.

[9] I am not certain of Leggins' band affiliation.

[10] Most of the information used below was gathered from J. J. Donegan of Burns in conversation and from his "Historical Sketch of Harney County, Oregon," presented to the Kiwanis Club, March 6, 1936, the manuscript of which he kindly let me read.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

A few of the old people receive money from the government. The majority of the money in the camp, however, is earned by piling brush around Seneca for the lumber company. This type of work is popular with the people because they can camp in the woods, are not constantly supervised, and the whole family can work together. The women do most of the work, since it is thought to be in the category of collecting seeds and roots. Some of the more enterprising men have jobs on ranches and others are in demand in the haying and sheep-shearing seasons. In general, however, the men cannot stick at a ranch job all year round. The younger women earn much of the steady income by washing, ironing, and cleaning for the white women in the town of Burns. Thus although the economy has changed, the women are still important breadwinners.

In general the standard of living is very low and the poverty is such that much of the food is still collected out of the garbage cans behind the big chain stores. A relatively large amount of money disappears over the weekends for liquor. The entire camp between the ages of about fifteen and seventy, with a few exceptions, drink whatever alcohol they can get. Most of the houses are over-crowded, dirty, and sparsely furnished. There are usually not more than two beds for the entire family, a stove, a few straight chairs, and a table.

Although an attempt has been made to better the health conditions, most of the families have trachoma. There are several bad cases of tuberculosis and many cases of syphilis and gonorrhea. Infant mortality is still high and until very recently many young children have died from malnutrition. However, in comparison with the period from 1880 to 1910, conditions are improved.

Opportunities for education are limited to the extremely poor local school. Formerly some of the children were admitted to the Warm Springs and Fort Bidwell boarding schools where they received a fair education, but now these schools are overcrowded and cannot take outsiders.

The contrast between the present life of the people and their former life seems extreme. Actually, interpersonal relations and religious beliefs are little changed; the composition of the household groups is similar to that of the old days. Christianity has not affected them and speculation as to who has good or bad supernatural power is still one of the main topics of conversation. The people still wander over the country, particularly during the summer. When they work for the brush company they live a life not too unlike their former one. Some women still collect wild seeds, roots, and berries as well as leavings from the garbage pails. Women still carry a large part of the economic burden. The younger people, in their teens and early twenties, who speak English, are, however, beginning to reflect the change. Many of them have attempted to get away or else have become delinquents. The young girls can easily slip into prostitution and several of the boys have been convicted of theft and other minor offenses and sent to reformatories.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

177 [648 657] There is still no efficient government, and the conflict between the native methods of social control and the white laws and court system is confusing to the people. The attempt to put Indian policemen in charge of the camp under the agent has not worked efficiently. The local Burns police force attempts to keep order, but in general, through lack of understanding and because of a strong contempt for the Indians, their actions are considered unfair and illogical by the Paiutes.

Theoretically, no one should reveal the fact that he has power nor tell his dreams. To do so would antagonize the spirit and result in the loss of power. Actually there is constant gossiping and speculation in the community as to who is gifted. Furthermore, it gives prestige to have power and some proud parents cannot resist hinting at the peculiar gifts of their children. Children, on the other hand, get their instructions in power from their family and naturally turn to them for guidance.

The above discussion would lead one to expect a great similarity in the type of power found in family lines. Such is indeed the case. There is not only pressure within the family for children to acquire power similar to that of their parents but there is a tendency for the community in general to expect them to have the same type of power. The result is what appears to be the inheritance of power although theoretically it cannot be procured except in dreams.

Jones, his brother, and his son were all doctors. Helen, her father, and brother all had bullet proof power and she implied that her son would have had the power too if he had not been corrupted by the whites. She said that she had often warned him to be ready for dreams but that he had scoffed at her. J. Smith and his father had bullet proof power as did Dick Jones and his paternal grandfather and uncle.

The Brown family line had power in rattlesnakes. Minnie, her father, son, and granddaughter were all on friendly terms with rattlers. Mary and her mother were said to have power in antelope which made them swift runners.

Bad power as well as good seems to follow family lines. Mrs. Porter and her mother, father, brother, and husband were all thought to be sorcerers. Tom T. and his wife were considered to be killers and the community was beginning to suspect that their daughter, Betty, was going to be the same. Some informants stated that Mrs. M. and her mother, Hetty, were sorcerers.

Thus there are constant pressures on the child to acquire power. In the first place, the child hears his parents and other older people discuss the gifted members of the community with respect and fear and develops a desire for power. Furthermore, his parents directly encourage him to acquire power by constantly telling him that he will dream and asking him to report the dreams so that they can help him interpret them. At times of illness and emotional stress they offer power as an explanation for the condition of the child. In these ways the parents teach the child to desire and expect a supernatural helper.[6]

Secondly, the child learns to imitate his parents[7] and if they are doctors or have other special gifts, he observes their rituals and performances and becomes adept himself. Part of this imitation is unguided and part of a general pattern of limita-

[6] For a discussion of the role of teaching in the inculcation of supernatural beliefs, see J. W. M. Whiting, *Becoming a Kwoma* (New Haven, 1941), Chap. VIII.

[7] Cf. N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941).

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

the Simms for having a gun around and letting the boys play with it. Mr. Porter, in a fit of rage, went over to the Simms house while they were away. He cut his arm and smeared blood around all the doors and windows and around the toilet seat and the door of the outhouse, so that when the Simms came home they would have to cross his power which was in his blood. According to reports Mr. John, a relative of the Simms who was noted for his sorcery power, was so furious when he found what Porter had done that he summoned the white superintendent. As the story is told, the white man cut his own arm and smeared the blood on Mr. Porter's face and told him to wash off the blood he had put around the house. He warned him that if anything ever happened to the Simms family he would be blamed and punished in kind. He then ordered him out of Fort Bidwell, giving him ten days to get his possessions packed up.

In spite of this incident it seems that all the community attended the funeral of the Porter boy. It was agreed by all informants that Mrs. Porter sorcerized Polly at this time. Polly was standing by Jane Simms when Mrs. Porter threw a pebble loaded with her power at Jane. The pebble missed its mark and hit Polly. She died that same summer.

It is impossible to determine how many details were added to the story after Polly died. Informants said that all the crowd saw Mrs. Porter throw the pebble, but if this is true it is one of the only two cases I have on record when sorcery was practiced overtly.[1] It is conceivable, however, that Mrs. Porter had lost control of herself so completely that she did actually perform this dangerously aggressive act.

I have no reports of doctorings or the statements of doctors about this case. However, it was the clearest case of sorcery recorded and there was no disagreement in the community as to the cause of the death. The fact that the white superintendent found it expedient to transfer the Porters to Burns indicates that feeling must have been running high on the Fort Bidwell Reservation and that he must have felt it impossible to protect the Porters from possible mob action.

Paul Horn died during the summer of 1938. He and his wife were not of the Wada Eater band but he had been imported from Fort Bidwell three years earlier by the white superintendent to act as the Indian policeman. The superintendent had felt it necessary to bring in an outsider because of the political feud which existed in the camp between the faction who supported Peter Hoyle and those who were satisfied with the settlement proposed by the United States Government.[2] This latter group moved down into the new houses. Hoyle's faction, the older, more conservative group, refused to move and threatened and abused those who accepted

[1] The other case reported was one in which Mrs. Porter threw a pebble loaded with her power at a Chinese man who was making sexual advances to her daughter. As will be seen in the discussion of sorcery, a person never admits to the possession of bad power and therefore would not perform such an act.

[2] See p. 24.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

band and did not associate with the women. Anne's sister was Mrs. Porter's mother, who, as reported above, was also said to have been a mean person.

During the course of my field work, Anne's oldest daughter, Clara, was murdered by her husband. Clara, who had recently had a baby, was living at home with her mother while her husband, Henry, was in Seneca piling brush for the lumber company. According to reports, Clara philandered while he was away and contracted gonorrhea. He returned one week-end and soon after developed gonorrhea. The next time he came to Burns he demanded that Clara return with him to Seneca and evidently blamed Anne for Clara's condition. He told her to cook supper and then get ready to leave with him. He was drunk at the time and Anne told Clara not to pay any attention to him. He got angry and drew a gun on Anne. A struggle ensued and he accidentally shot and killed Clara while trying to shoot Anne. Anne was wounded in the shoulder. Henry then tried to shoot himself, but failed to do more than wound himself seriously. He was arrested by the police and taken away. Anne was distraught. She blamed two other girls for the whole affair, saying that they had gotten Henry drunk before they came down from Seneca. In her anger she went into their house while they were away and cut up some hides they had hanging to dry. The community was unanimous in judging this behavior as excessively aggressive. They also blamed her in part for the murder of Clara and the arrest of Henry.

About this time rumors began to circulate that Anne had killed her brother, who had died several years before. This was the only accusation of actual sorcery made against her, and it seems to be a charge made long after the actual event. However, I do not know the circumstances surrounding this death and it may be that some people accused her at the time.

As in the case of Betty, the real criticisms and anger at Anne came from the women because she had affairs with their husbands. They thought that she must have some kind of power or else she would not dare to antagonize so many women. Her behavior at the time of her daughter's death was considered too aggressive and added more grist to the gossip mill.

Mrs. M. and her mother, Hetty, were members of the community who were said by some to have bad power. The gossip about them was particularly interesting inasmuch as I got both the accusation made against them by others and their own stories. According to Helen, both Mrs. M. and Hetty had been publicly accused of sorcery. Hetty was said to have power in blood which made anyone with whom she was angry sick in the stomach and made their bowel movements bloody. I asked how Helen knew this and she told me that Dr. Harry had worked on a woman who was sick and said that Hetty's power had caused the trouble. I asked Mrs. M. whether Hetty had power and she told me that she had power in bullets, that she dreamed about guns and how they hit the ground and made the dirt fly.

SOCIAL CONTROL WITHIN THE BAND

THE preceding chapter described how peace and solidarity are maintained within the family, but not the mechanisms which function to maintain order among the different families within the band. The question remains as to what prevents people from assaulting, killing, raping, or stealing from the members of other families.

The conditions which determine the type of control which functions within the family differ from those of the larger group. In the first place cooperation is not so essential between families as it is between members of the same family. It was formerly possible and sometimes even advantageous for families to wander by themselves. Food supplies were not so plentiful at any one place that large aggregations of people could live together all year round. Only for short periods in the fall when the *wada* was ripe, in the spring when the salmon were running, or in July when the crickets were plentiful would more than a few families join one another. Even in the winter when there were few food-gathering activities the number of families who could settle in one location was limited by the supply of food and water. Since cooperation was economically essential only in the communal antelope and rabbit drives, and sometimes in the winter when families who ran out of food would turn to those who had a surplus, fear of loss of support and help was not so great as within the family.

There were no chiefs over the groups of families when they settled together. Men who were respected and were capable hunters took the initiative in organizing rabbit and antelope drives and hunting expeditions, or advised families when to leave the winter camps and go after roots. Their opinion was valued as to the best time to go after fish or *wada*, etc., but they had no real authority and no one felt compelled to take their advice.

Just preceding the establishment of the Malheur Reservation, when the whites drove many of the bands out of their former terrain, a group of important leaders came into being. These men were bullet proof warriors who were respected for their bravery and ability to suggest methods of meeting the crisis. When the reservation was established, the whites used these men as intermediaries and assumed that they had authority over their people. Actually, however, they had no more power than the former leaders had had.

Thus, on superficial observation, it would seem that the Harney Valley Paiutes have no mechanisms for social control. There is no chief, no council of elders or other judiciary or law-enforcing body. No legal codes or formalized ideas of justice could be elicited from informants. By asking for cases of murder, theft, etc., and

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

eyebrow, with a spot of yellow on the upper cheek, and a spot or line of yellow under the eyes), combs the hair, and dresses the deceased in his best clothes and all his jewelry. The eyes of the deceased are left open and sometimes fixed so that only the whites show. Everyone stands around while the body is being fixed except the children, other than those in the immediate family, who are kept away from all death observances. The body is then rolled in a buckskin blanket and tied, and either carried or taken on horseback from the camp to some rocky place. Some informants stated that the body is buried in a knee-chest position, others that it is placed flat on its back. Everyone helps cover the body with rocks. A plain pole is stuck in the grave of a doctor or man of power; no marker on the graves of others. All the possessions of the deceased, all the things he customarily handles, are taken with the body and either buried whole or broken. Some informants stated that after the corpse is buried, the possessions are burned along with the bedding, and the house in which the deceased died, and the ashes scattered around the place he slept. Nowadays, since government houses have been introduced, the family try to move the dying man into a makeshift structure, so they do not have to live in a house in which someone has died. However, even in the days of tule mat houses, some informants stated that only the smoke hole mat was burned. The family always changed the house site and, if a son died, moved away from the camp group. A man's favorite horse is killed and left by the grave, but other horses are spared. One informant stated that food is buried with the corpse; another that friends and relatives put presents in the grave. One informant stated that when a person is sick and dying his hair comes out and is saved in a bag and buried with the corpse or burned.

The friends and relatives then return home and bathe. Close female relatives, sisters, mothers, and first cousins cut their hair, usually just to the ears, sometimes shorter, the amount of hair cut varying in direct proportion to the closeness of the degree of relationship and fondness for the deceased. Dick Jonas said a woman would not cut her hair for a husband's brother. Close male relatives also cut their hair, but children's hair is cut only when a parent dies. The mane and tails of all the deceased's remaining horses are cut. All the hair clippings are thrown under a live sagebrush bush or into a river so that the hair will grow long again. The women dump red paint on top of their heads and slash their arms, legs, and, according to one informant, their faces with a knife, or scratch themselves until they bleed. Informants disagreed as to whether or not men also do this.

A widower does not hunt for several days, relatives refrain from gambling, but there are no food taboos. Mourning is not of specific duration; when a person wants to get over his sorrow he bathes in the sweat house.

A person who dies in battle is abandoned, unless the battle is close by a settlement. Mothers who die in childbirth are buried with the baby in their arms. Babies who die in infancy are buried in their cradles.

It is considered dangerous to visit graves or to think of or mention the name of the dead. Such thoughts might bring the ghost of the deceased, who would snatch the breath of his loved ones whom he has left behind.

11: Park E-5 (1933-1935) 1938
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

possibilities of intrusive influences from surrounding cultures.

The position of the present undertaking in relation to other distributional studies of shamanistic practices in western North America should be clarified. In assessing the position of the Klamath among the cultures of western North America, Spier has given by far the most thorough and exhaustive analysis of the geographical range of certain practices.[6] Although additional material available since the publication of *Klamath Ethnography* modifies few of Spier's conclusions, a re-examination of the data and the use of the new material should shed light on those cultural connections reflected in the growth of the Paviotso complex. Further, whatever unique features characterize the practices of these people, perhaps those of the Great Basin as a whole should emerge from the distributional data.

Some of the methodological difficulties besetting such an historical study as the present one should not pass unremarked. In the first place, it is generally recognized that the growth of culture through the processes of diffusion is not mechanical; that there are powerful, but often subtle, factors that determine the selection and modification of traits in the course of the development of a complex or of a total civilization. In the case of the shamanistic complex under consideration here, it can be shown that elements found among the Paviotso enter into different combinations and are variously interpreted in the religions of neighboring peoples. It follows, then, that the conditions under which transmission takes place and the cultural setting into which new elements are fitted are of the utmost importance in accurately reconstructing a detailed and fully satisfactory history of a tribal culture. But empirical knowledge of these factors in societies that have no means of recording in reasonably permanent form events which lead to change, can be derived, as Radin has demonstrated,[7] only from the study of the actual conditions under which each case of borrowing takes place. Radin is unquestionably right when he insists that documents recorded by actual participants in events yield valuable direct evidence of history, but it is imposing un-

[6] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, 239–279. I wish to acknowledge with gratitude my debt to this study. It will be evident in the following pages that I have drawn upon it heavily for suggestions and guidance in procedure and for material.

[7] Radin, *A Sketch of the Peyote Cult*, 1, 22; *Method and Theory of Ethnology*, 186–238.

11: Park E-5 (1933-1935) 1938
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

justifiable limits on historical reconstruction when evidence of only these recent events is admitted; that other cases of borrowing have not been recorded in such satisfactory detail does not argue that they should be ignored. Here the historian of culture is confronted with the need for sober analysis of the data of geographical distribution in order to derive the maximum of historical inference warranted by the information, avoiding pretentious claims for completeness and chronology. If we recognize, then, that reconstruction of the unverified events of the past in terms of generalized situations may often be misleading, it will be more realistic simply to regard diffusion here as an accomplished fact and to confine attention to the task of determining the cultural connections in the area under consideration without postulating unauthenticated conditions of diffusion and assimilation.

Naturally, this does not mean that all elements in the complex are to be weighted alike in such an historical reconstruction. It must be recognized that there are important differentials in the diffusion of separate elements as well as of systems of cultures, that one trait may spread rapidly over a wide area while another custom or practice, equally old, may be transmitted to only a limited number of cultures.[8] Thus it cannot be denied that the transmission of shamanistic practices in western North America has been facilitated in some cases and in others inhibited by numerous cultural and geographical factors.[9] It is no longer possible, however, to determine the precise circumstances which in one tribe facilitated the adoption of a new practice and in another culture caused its rejection. Certainly this consideration alone gives a dubious validity to any time-sequence inferred only from distributional evidence. In view of these limitations on the inferential reconstruction of history, therefore, the present study will be restricted to the determination of the interrelationships of the Paviotso with the surrounding cultures, so far as the evidence warrants. Nevertheless, the operation of certain factors favoring

[8] It is recognized that anthropologists are usually aware of these crucial points. In fact, the general formulations of the problems involved in culture-borrowing nearly always emphasize the factors controlling the spread of cultures and traits. Frequently, however, the same scholars neglect or ignore these powerful differentials in making specific historical reconstructions.

[9] Sapir has discussed a number of the conditions that are responsible for differences in rates of diffusion. *Time Perspective*, 30 f.

11: Park E-5 (1933-1935) 1938
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

121 or limiting the processes of borrowing cannot be ignored entirely,
177 for from the uniqueness of a complex which in terms of content can be duplicated in several neighboring tribes, it is evident that they have had an important rôle in the selection and interpretation of traits.

121 Still another problem involving these differentials in the rate of
171 diffusion is that of the weighting or determining of what may be called the historical value of cultural elements or complexes. It should be recognized that the distribution of one element or a particular cluster of beliefs and practices may indicate closer historical connection than can be inferred from the geographical range of another trait or complex. An example will clarify this point. Among a considerable number of tribes in western North America, shamanistic power is customarily secured by a deliberate quest. The frequently recurring association of several practices and beliefs in the "power quest" suggests a higher degree of relationship among the people following this practice than is indicated by the distribution of such a belief as that in which supernatural power is derived from animal spirits. Often, of course, the closer connection inferred on this basis may result from a more recent development and spread of the complex; but this chronological sequence cannot always be verified. On the other hand, in an appreciable number of other instances there is no justification at all for an assumption of time-relationships. It is evident, then, that although relatively complex traits or complexes often offer a basis for inferring close relationship among the cultures where they are found, such reconstructions do not depend alone on this factor, for apparently simple practices in some instances are likewise of considerable value in determining past cultural connections. Clearly, the historical value of culture traits rests upon the several factors that are responsible for differences in both the rate of diffusion and the conditions under which selection and assimilation take place. At present, criteria are not available for judging differentials in historical usefulness of the distributional data of institutions and customs. Possibly, exhaustive critical studies of many culture complexes under carefully analyzed conditions of transmission may illuminate this problem so vital to the inferential reconstruction of culture history. These consider-

11: Park E-5 (1933-1935) 1938
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Oregon were known to the Nevada Paviotso only through their Surprise Valley friends. To the east, the Paviotso had contacts solely with their immediate neighbors, the Western Shoshoni. Their relations with these people, however, were never so intimate and friendly as with the Northern Paiute of California. The Paviotso claim that the Bannock once were associated with them, but that these people moved east in search of the buffalo. It is doubtful whether the Paviotso and Bannock were in communication with each other in the period immediately preceding white occupation. The Southern Paiute, the Ute groups, and other Shoshonean peoples of the Basin were not known to the Paviotso.

The Paviotso have a culture which is usually regarded as Great Basin, but our present knowledge of this region is far too scanty to enable us to state just how typical of Basin culture are Paviotso customs. In their economic life, the wild products afforded by the habitat are utilized. Hunting, fishing, and gathering wild seeds and roots provide the food supply. Houses are simple but well-constructed, mat-covered and dome-shaped. Before the recent introduction of the Plains type of garments, clothing was negligible—a breechclout for men, a single apron in front or a double one front and back for the women, supplemented in the case of both sexes by woven skin robes and moccasins.

The social, political, and religious phases of Paviotso culture are likewise simple. The family is the basic unit in the social, as well as the economic, life. The five Paviotso bands are loose, localized, named groups with head-men or chiefs who have only advisory functions. Ceremonial performances are meager and mostly confined to shamanistic curing.

A great deal of the Paviotso culture has disappeared under reservation conditions. This is particularly true of economic life and material culture. Nevertheless, many social customs and religious beliefs and practices persist. Shamans are still common, and curing performances are frequent. Consequently, it has been possible to obtain accounts of a living religion from both shamans and laymen.

A brief statement on the sources of the material presented here may give some notion both of the value of these data as a basis for an accurate picture of the Paviotso complex and of their use-

11: Park E-5 (1933-1935) 1938
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

It should be mentioned that the sweat-bath is not associated with curing practices among the Paviotso. This is true both of shamanistic curative practices and the ordinary home remedies that are utilized. The Paviotso learned of the sweat-house and its use only recently, and it has never achieved an important place in the culture. Apparently sweating has more religious associations with the Surprise Valley band of the Northern Paiute.[16]

The shaman is not held responsible when the patient dies. His failure is believed to be due either to the stronger power of a sorcerer or to other factors over which he had no control. It is said that nowadays the fee is not returned when the cure is unsuccessful. Apparently the former practice was for the shaman to return the fee if the patient died within a day or two after the treatment. When death occurred at any later time no restitution was made.

Legerdemain is not generally characteristic of the shamanistic performance. Apparently the shamans of today perform no tricks when curing, but several informants recall that in the past some practised sleight-of-hand. One shaman walked around the fire holding a basket on his head. He announced when he sat down, that if pine-nuts were in the basket the patient would recover; if there were no pine-nuts, the patient would die. When he stopped moving about the fire he showed the people that pine-nuts had mysteriously appeared in the basket. Other tricks of a similar nature were performed by a few shamans. No swallowing acts are performed by the shamans.

Several informants reported that some shamans picked up hot coals during the performance. One was known to have taken a hot coal in his mouth. It turned to white paint which he spat into his hands and rubbed on the patient. At one point in the curing performance, another shaman held an iron knife in the fire. When the knife was hot he put it into his mouth and "it sizzled like a hot iron dipped in water." Still another exhibition with fire was given by a shaman to show that he had power to cure. Before he started to sing he thrust a bundle of reeds or brush into the fire. When the ends caught fire he licked them with his tongue. Walking on fire is unknown in Paviotso practice.

[16] Kelly, *Surprise Valley Paiute*, 202–204.

(newspaper) of January 14, 1879, appears to quote Sarah as stating her father was then about eighty years old. Sarah Winnemucca (1882, p. 252) states that both she and her father were born at the Sink of the Humboldt River (i.e., Humboldt Lake).

The name Winnemucca has been given a variety of meanings. The Pacific Tourist (Williams, 1876, p. 191) says the word means "chief"; DeQuille (*op. cit.*, p. 271) says it means "charitable man." In 1931 Skinny Dave, whose mother was Sis Winnemucca (a daughter of Truckee John or *Wa-hee Winnemucca*, who was the brother of Chief Winnemucca)[1] and whose father was *Numana* (Captain Dave), told me that Winnemucca's Indian name was *Mubetawaha*, "man with hole in his nose," the name coming from the pierced nasal septum in which he wore a stick or bone about 4 inches long. This nose-pin can be seen in Plate 1, *right*. Thompson and West (1881, p. 151) say that Winnemucca's Indian name was *Po-i-to*.

The feather headdress which Winnemucca wears in Plate 1, *right*, is not an aboriginal Nevada form, but is clearly recognizable as a ceremonial headgear of the sort used by Central California Indians north of San Francisco Bay in a ritual called the *KUKSU* cult. Since he is known to have been in California, it may be presumed that Winnemucca secured this bit of ceremonial finery from across the Sierras.

The Winnemucca we have been speaking about, and who is shown on Plate 1, is often referred to as Chief Winnemucca or Old Winnemucca to distinguish him from his nephew *Numaga* or Young Winnemucca (DeQuille, *op. cit.*, p. 265). Young Winnemucca's picture is shown by Thompson and West (*op. cit.*, opp. p. 144), but they erroneously state (*ibid.*, p. 151) that he was not related to Old Winnemucca. Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (*op. cit.*, p. 60) correctly refers to Young Winnemucca as her cousin.

The death of Winnemucca rated some notice in the press, and the San Francisco Call of October 15, 1882 carried the story of his last illness. Winnemucca died at Coppersmith Station on October 21, 1882, and attributed his illness to having been bewitched by his young wife. Either on the night of his death or a few days afterward (the accounts are not in agreement on this point), the young wife and her three-year-old child were stoned to death as punishment for causing her husband's death. This incident, with the newspaper accounts quoted in full, has been presented elsewhere in publication (Heizer, 1955).

PLATE 2

Sarah Winnemucca. Sarah, whose father was Old Winnemucca and whose mother was a daughter of Captain Truckee, in some way acquired a fair education. She and her father correctly saw that the only hope for the Indians' survival lay in cooperation and submission rather than in war, and that only an informed public could help the Indians by bringing pressure upon the Department of the Interior to appoint honest Indian agents. Sarah's life is one of extraordinary interest, and is too lengthy and complex to be sketched here. In her book, *Life Among the Piutes*, she indicates her birth at about 1844, although a few years earlier she gave information appearing in the Virginia Enterprise (newspaper) of January 14, 1879, that she was then about thirty-one years of age, which would make her birth year 1848. She states in her book (*ibid.*, p. 70) that she was taken to San Jose, California, in 1860 to school, but stayed only three weeks because of objections raised by parents of Caucasian children also attending. The Virginia Enterprise (Jan. 14, 1879) says that she and two of her sisters (Mary and Emma, probably) stayed seven years in a "select school" in San Jose. She was married at least three times to white men; first to a man named Snyder who died on his way to Germany on a visit, next (in 1876) to a Lt. Bartlett, USA, with whom she lived only a short time, and then to a man named Hopkins whose name she still used when she published her book in 1883. Her Indian name is variously given; De Quille

[1] The death of Chief Winnemucca's brother, Wa-hee Winnemucca, also known as Truckee John, occurred in 1859 at the hand of Augustus Moore, who shot Wa-hee for stealing a valuable mare which he owned and kept on his ranch in Truckee Meadows (Moore, 1878, pp. 15-19).

(*op. cit.*, p. 271) says it is *Sonometa*; Sarah, in her book (*op. cit.*, p. 47) gives it as *Thocmetony*, "shell flower," and in an article a year earlier (Sarah Winnemucca, 1882), it is rendered *Somittone*, "shell flower." 159

Sarah's costume is not that of the aboriginal Paviotso which was limited to the briefest sort of skirt made of leather or shredded tule or sagebrush bark, but is obviously of the type characteristic of the Great Plains and Plateau area. It can be safely assumed that she acquired this dress as a lecture costume. The San Francisco Call (newspaper) of October 18, 1883, describes what is apparently the same garment as follows: "Her apparel was of dressed deerskin, buff-colored and heavily fringed with beads, reaching a little below her knees, and displaying her legs encased in red leather leggings and a pair of mocassins trimmed to match her dress. Pendant at her side was an handsomely embroidered pouch. Her black hair, which reached below her waist, was brushed smoothly back from her forehead." 159 291 [177] [302]

Sometime during the late 1870's Sarah began to give public lectures on Indian life and on the outrageous treatment of the Nevada Indians by the Federal Government. She visited San Francisco on several occasions for this purpose, and summaries of her talks appear in such newspapers as the Call, Alta, and Union during the 1880's. Many letters written by her to Indian agents and to officials connected with the office of Indian Affairs in Washington were also published (presumably from copies sent by her to editors) in the newspapers. All in all she achieved a fair degree of fame, and is said to have gone East and given a series of lectures, this trip bringing her into contact with Mrs. Horace Mann who apparently helped Sarah get the manuscript of her book, *Life Among the Piutes*, in shape and found for her a publisher in Boston. While we have no information whether the book made money for Sarah to continue the fight on behalf of her people, it is now a very scarce and difficult work to obtain. It appears that Sarah, through her lectures, stirred up enough public interest to cause some alarm among officials of the Department of the Interior, and in late 1878 Sarah, together with her father, Old Winnemucca, and her brother, Natches, was brought to Washington at government expense and there interviewed by the then Secretary of the Interior, Schurz. Her account of this experience indicates clearly that official Washington considered her a nuisance and troublemaker, but at the same time a power to deal with. She was told to go back home and tell her people that they would be given canvas for tents, and food. This she did, but she also tells touchingly in her book about the failure of the government to fulfill its promise and of the continued misery and suffering of her people. While her efforts on behalf of the Paviotso did not ever accomplish much because she was fighting a corrupt, indifferent, and powerful governmental agency, her selfless motives and tremendous energies and high purpose make her a person to admire in the history of our far West. 159 648

The date and place of her death are not known to me, although they could no doubt be determined if one searched the newspapers of the last decade of the nineteenth century. The Virginia Enterprise newspaper article of January 14, 1879 refers to a son of hers who was at that time attending school in Silver City, but of him I have no other information beyond this statement. 159

PLATE 3

Sarah Winnemucca and her husband, Mr. Hopkins. The left picture is one of Sarah in Caucasian dress and beneath it in a very fair hand is written in ink: "Your Loveing Sister Sarah Winnemucca." It is undocumented but probably dates from about 1880; the sister referred to is probably either Mary or Emma.

The center picture is unidentified as to place and time, but a guess may be hazarded that this is one of her early lecture costumes and therefore may date from about 1879 or 1880. It is obviously taken in a studio, perhaps in San Francisco where she spoke many times.

The right picture is that of Mr. Hopkins, her third Caucasian husband. This looks like a daguerrotype photograph, and may not date from the time of her brief marraige with him (1882 or 1883) but from an earlier period. The photograph is associated with the two described above, and derives directly from Sarah through her brother, Natches, who gave them to his friend, John T. Reid of Lovelock, Nevada, sometime around 1900.

PLATE 9

342 *Pyramid Lake houses.* Plate 9, *top*, is a general view of a group of Paviotso summer shelters. A flat-roofed, rectangular ramada is at the far left, then an unroofed willow branch shelter. To the right is another flat-roofed structure which served as a sunshade and for food storage, and at right is a "tent" which takes the form of a partially-covered conical frame of poles. The conical tent or tipi was not known aboriginally to these people, and after the Indians could secure canvas they learned to use this material to cover the frame of a temporary structure.

Plate 9, *bottom*, shows a permanent rectangular, tule-thatched house in the Truckee River bottomland near Pyramid Lake. Such houses were reasonably watertight and, while dark inside, could be kept warm in winter. Strictly speaking, such a house would be lived in during the cold and wet winter and abandoned during the extremely hot summer in favor of a brush shelter like those shown in Plates 7 and 8 which were built nearer the lakeshore and the fishing spots. The framing is of light poles set in the ground and arched over at the top. On these are laid sheaves of the round-stemmed tule rush *(Scirpus lacustris)* which are "shingled" or lapped as shown in the photograph to shed rainwater and are attached to the pole framework beneath by light willow poles laid horizontally over the thatch. In front of the house (and no doubt brought [415] from inside the house and set out for the photographer) are coiled basketry bowls, coarse twined burden baskets, concave twined winnowing trays, and a twined basketry canteen. This is the ancient pre-Caucasian type of house which has long since been given up by the Paviotso in favor of cabins built of sawed lumber, and this photograph (taken by Dr. C. Hart Merriam in July, 1903) is a unique pictorial record of the last days of the old way of life that prevailed in Nevada for thousands of years before the white man came.

APPENDIX

NOTES ON PAVIOTSO CHIEFTAINSHIP

622 The idea that Indian tribes were led by strong chiefs who were accorded authority and were served with obedience by members of the group is a widely held one by white men. While it is doubtless true that there were native headmen in pre-Caucasian times, such persons seem to have had little authority and their leadership rested in the wisdom which they displayed and their ability to give good advice.[4] They were not strong chiefs whose word was law, but persons looked up to and whose advice was usually followed if it appeared to be sound. When the whites appeared it was necessary for Indian groups to have spokesmen who could represent their people. If there [177] were no such functionaries the white men often created them by the simple practice of treating one person as though he was, in fact, a strong chief whose group acknowledged his authority. By assuming that there were chiefs of the sort the white man expected to find, there thus became such chiefs. This matter I have discussed elsewhere (Heizer, 1955) and have cited evidence of California Indian chiefs who were "created" by whites.[5]

622 648 It is my impression that in the early stages of the contact of the Caucasian and Indian peoples in the Far West (this stage being marked by the appearance of the whites in considerable numbers and by their evident intention to stay and become permanently attached to the land) strong Indian chiefs did exist and function as leaders of their people and as intermediaries between Indians and

[4] In Nevada where the economic struggle for survival was an unremitting one, the chief (in pre-Caucasian times) was largely occupied in guiding the group in their search for food. Aside from special "hunt chiefs" who directed the group in a specialized communal hunt for rabbits or antelope or deer, the chief seems to have been looked to for advice on when the group should move in order to collect a particular kind of food at a certain locality. This may be illustrated by citing Sarah Winnemucca (1882): "When the spirit moves the chief, he arises and speaks in a loud voice to his people. At these times all work must cease. If a woman is cooking a meal, it must be left undone. All fold their hands, incline their heads, and listen to what he has to say; and then, when he is through, they go on again with their work, as left before he commenced to speak. Before every event, the chief gets up first in the morning, and the people are warned to get ready. If it is for a fishing excursion, or to hunt deer, or for any other excursion, he tells them to get ready—all that are to go."

[5] For a review of civil authority among American Indians see Lowie (1948).

PLATE 1

177
292
142
301

PO-4-TE, an OLD [illegible].

PLATE 2

292
301
302
142
177

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

PREFACE

A CULTURE-ELEMENT SURVEY consuming four months among the Northern Paiute and Washo in 1936 and another one among the Ute, Goshute, and Southern Paiute in 1937–1938, for the University of California, prepared me for this study. Among the Ute, I attended three peyote meetings, gaining information that way and also in other ways concerning the peyote cult. I incorporated the material in a paper entitled Ute Peyotism, accepted for publication by Anthropos. The chance encounter in a Ute peyote meeting at Randlett, Utah, with Ben Lancaster, who introduced peyote to the Washo and the Northern Paiute, and Sam Dick, his first convert and principal assistant, facilitated subsequent research.

My first experience with Washo-Paiute peyotism was made possible by Dr. S. F. Cook, who invited me in July, 1938, to accompany him on a field trip. On that expedition we talked of peyote with Indians from Reno to Bishop, and made fruitless inquiry concerning it from Bishop, around the southern Sierra Nevada, to Yosemite. We were fortunate in being able to attend a peyote meeting conducted by Sam Dick near Mono Lake. As a result of that short visit in July, which revealed the possibilities of more intensive study, I received a grant from the University of California to allow me to spend five weeks, beginning October 14, 1938, among the Washo and Northern Paiute. The greater part of the data in this monograph was obtained at that time. It was then I attended another peyote meeting, conducted by Ben Lancaster at Carson City.

I wish especially to thank Dr. A. L. Kroeber and the other faculty members of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California who made possible the field work upon which this study is based. Special appreciation for assistance and hospitality is due Miss Alida C. Bowler, Superintendent of the Carson Indian Agency, and Indian Service employees who assisted me on innumerable occasions. To my Indian informants I owe a considerable debt, for they gave freely of their time and information.

Much assistance and encouragement have been received from several colleagues who have patiently listened as I expounded my views or who have read and criticised parts of my manuscript. Besides my dissertation committee comprising Professors A. L. Kroeber, Carl O. Sauer, and R. L. Olson, I owe thanks to Professors J. Gilbert McAllister and George Engerrand, of the University of Texas, Professor R. H. Lowie and Dr. T. D. McCown, of the University of California, and Dr. Homer G. Barnett, of the University of Oregon; and to Dr. Demitri Shimkin for placing at my disposal material concerning peyotism among the Wind River Shoshone and has otherwise aided me through stimulating discussions.

I also wish to thank the following ethnographers who supplied data for the peyote element distribution list in Appendix II: J. Gilbert McAllister, Weston La Barre, E. Adamson Hoebel, John A. Noon, Erminie W. Voegelin, Alexis A. Praus, Fred Voget, Demitri Shimkin, and Carling Malouf.

Mrs. C. A. Block, Editorial Assistant, Anthropology Department, University of California, worked over the manuscript several times and her invaluable assistance is greatly appreciated. My wife, Lenore, has given editorial and stenographic aid.

O. C. S.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

short accounts on the Kiowa peyote cult in Oklahoma, which is the first notice we have of its presence among extant tribes in the United States.[5] Since then, it has received the attention of numerous ethnographers, chemists, physiologists, and psychologists; it was the subject of a doctoral dissertation by Vincenzo Petrullo in 1934 and by Weston La Barre at Yale in 1937.

Similarities between the cults in Mexico and the United States suggest some remote relationship, but numerous differences invalidate any theory of recent direct diffusion. Since modern peyotists in Mexico and the United States are separated by the entire peyote-growing area, both probably learned to use the cactus from peoples formerly living within the peyote's natural habitat. The presence of peyote users in the area of northeastern Mexico during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is well documented,[6] as is the fact that Lipan and Mescalero Apache visited them and used peyote with them as early as 1770.[7] The Apache attended peyote meetings and probably Catholic services while at the Coahuila missions and might easily have formed a new ritual when they returned to the United States, incorporating into it elements from any or all the ceremonies they witnessed while in Mexico. All peyote rituals north of the Rio Grande are remarkably similar, and appear universally to include elements of Christian ideology and ritual integrated with aboriginal ceremonial elements.[8]

The spread of the peyote cult is well known throughout the Plains from the Mescalero and Kiowa who had it by 1870 and 1880 to the Chippewa in Canada by 1936.[9] Shonle thought the Rocky Mountains would act as an effective barrier to its spread to the tribes in Idaho and California; however, it has been at Fort Hall and among scattered groups of Ute, Goshute, and Shoshone in the Great Basin for over a decade. This paper is concerned with its introduction among the Northern Paiute and Washo Indians of western Nevada and eastern California.

Ideology of Peyotism

In spite of recognized differences in the cults of various tribes, peyotism is sufficiently uniform everywhere in the United States to permit a single general description. The purpose of the cult is to heal and to protect through the worship of God by means of peyote. It is almost impossible to distinguish the Supreme Being of peyotism from the Christian God. Peyote serves as an intermediary between the devotee and the Divinity, and as such has addressed to it all supplications. The dried peyote button has infinite aspects and attributes. The exact relationship between peyote as an incorporeal intermediary, as a palladium, as a corporeal fetish, and as a dried cactus to be eaten, is not easily understood. Probably very few peyotists have ever attempted to formulate the integration of peyote's several attributes, thinking and speaking of it as a "medicine," a "power," a "protector," or a "teacher," praying to it as the symbol or representative of a spirit or God, and eating it as an aid to obtaining assistance from, or offering thanks to, the Supreme Divinity. Distinct theologies of peyotism would be about as numerous as the individuals supplying them; but in spite of variance in esoteric concepts, common beliefs are uniform. Universally, alcoholic beverages are condemned by peyotists; and love, hope, charity, ambition, and honesty are considered necessary for happiness.

[5] La Barre, 1938, reviews nearly all of the scientific and historical literature on peyote and gives a thirteen-page bibliography.
[6] Beals, 1932, 216.
[7] Antonio Pena, 1770, MS; Juan de Ugalde, 1787, MS; also Stewart, MS.
[8] Radin, Opler, Petrullo, La Barre, and others consider Christian elements recent additions. Evidence to the contrary is presented in my Ute Peyotism (see Bibliography).
[9] La Barre, 1938, 109–122; Shonle, 1925, 58.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13 ●
Washo NT20

N That five or six years
114 may suffice to distort the impressions of a cult or cause it to be overlooked entirely
175 is demonstrated by the fact that both Park, in 1934 and 1935, and I, in 1936, failed
*795 to learn that the peyote cult had been present in 1930 among the Northern Paiute. Even after discovering the cult's previous existence, I obtained fragmentary and contradictory information concerning it. One impression was received from a man at Nixon, another from a woman at Bishop, about two hundred miles away, a third from Indians at Fallon and at Walker River; all had to be interviewed before even the semblance of a true picture emerged.

N To account for the acceptance of new cults, previous students have pointed out
W the similarities between the indigenous and the introduced religion. When native
114 institutions are investigated years after their establishment, a cultural analysis is
*795 perhaps the only means of obtaining clues to the reasons for acceptance. Occasionally, however, faith in such analysis has led ethnographers to rely on it when more exact data were available. That the indigenous culture influences acceptance or rejection cannot be denied, but when Indians participating in the same culture react differently toward new cults, it is necessary to search for additional factors.

Recognizing the sources of error in studying the diffusion of a religion after it has become well established, I was impressed with the opportunity, rare in the United States, to investigate the Washo-Paiute peyote cult only two years after its introduction and with nearly all the participants available for questioning. From
N the first interview it was clear that the Washo–Northern Paiute Indians were
W sharply divided in their opinions concerning peyote; consequently, it was necessary
124 to go beyond a cultural analysis.

*795 It was difficult to obtain accurate figures on participation. Several times I was told that "nearly everyone" in a certain Indian community belonged, only to find upon visiting that place that this held for a very small percentage. To get correct data, I copied from the official government census rolls the names of all adults (fifteen years of age and over) from the principal communities where meetings have been held. I checked the roll, name by name, with peyotists, nonpeyotists, government employees, and other white men to ascertain the status of each individual. In interviews with members and nonmembers in these communities, I always inquired for other peyote members and for those most opposed to it. From nearly every family in Dresslerville, Wellington, Yerington (including Campbell Ranch) Mono Lake, Bridgeport, and Coleville I interviewed at least one member. I also obtained the names of all families represented at two peyote meetings I attended: at Mono Lake in July, 1938, and at Carson City, October, 1938. In all, I procured information concerning peyotism from 43 active peyotists, 31 apathetical inactive peyotists, 18 antagonistic inactive peyotists, 35 unconcerned nonpeyotists, 56 antagonistic nonpeyotists, and 32 Indian Service officials, missionaries, ranchers, merchants, and other white men somehow directly concerned with the Indians. These 215 interviews varied from statements such as "I don't know anything about peyote and I don't care to know" to an interview with proselyter Ben Lancaster which lasted four days.

HISTORY OF WASHO–NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTISM

N
W
First Contacts

● 177 The Peyote religion was introduced to the Washo and the Northern Paiute In-
*795 dians in October, 1936, by Ben Lancaster. Contrary to the belief general among ethnologists and Indian Service employees that this is their first experience with

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

peyote," most of the adult Indians in the area of its distribution remembered in November, 1938, previously hearing of peyote, some having had personal experience with it.

In 1924, Dan Voorhees (P,1)[11] and Johnny Cleveland (P,1) heard that peyote was successfully used in a curing ritual in Oklahoma. A mixed-blood Sioux or Ponca, Tom Knudsen, the government farm agent then at Schurz, showed them an Indian Service pamphlet condemning peyote, but told them his family had been cured by it.

Actual experience came through Leo Okio, an "Eastern Indian," who held meetings at Nixon, Fallon, and Schurz in the fall and winter of 1929–1930. When with the Northern Paiute, he lived with Joe Green, a Paiute shaman at Nixon, who befriended him and was convinced of peyote's power after seeing Leo cure cases of paralysis and pneumonia. Joe learned the relevant songs and assisted in the ritual. More than a dozen Indians described the 1929 meetings, several as eyewitnesses. The ritual differed in several particulars from the present Washo-Paiute cult, resembling what is known in the Great Basin as the "old Sioux way."[12] As many as seventy Indians attended Leo's meetings, some coming from as far away as Bishop, California, and McDermitt, Nevada. Although a number of converts were made, peyotism completely ceased as an active force when Leo Okio left. He is now principally remembered as an Indian doctor who took much money from the people and whose patients all died.

Raymond Lone Bear (Ralph Kochampanaskin) (Ute,2), the second to hold meetings in the western Great Basin, arrived about 1932. A Uintah Ute, he had learned of peyote at Pine Ridge, South Dakota, in 1913. Before marrying a Washo girl and settling with her tribe (where he was in 1938), he had also attended peyote meetings in Rose Bud, South Dakota; Fort Washakie, Wyoming; Blackfoot, Montana; Ignacio, Colorado; Uintah (Ute) and Ibapah (Goshute), Utah; and Dolce, New Mexico. Lone Bear was harbored by Sam Dick, a Washo shaman at Minden, Nevada. Soon he started "Sioux way" meetings and also "doctored" as an "old-time" shaman. Successful with both techniques, he collected for a few months from $15 to $60 for a single treatment. Nearly all the Washo in the vicinity attended his meetings. Sam Dick learned the peyote songs and made a kettledrum, acting as drummer during the rituals. Eventually, Lone Bear ruined himself by drinking too much and getting in jail too often. After his first period of success, he held only a few meetings. He has not been allowed to affiliate with the new movement.

Besides the knowledge of peyotism brought to them by foreign Indians, the Washo–Northern Paiute also learned of peyotism on visits to other tribes. It is impossible to state exactly how many attended meetings elsewhere or heard of them, but I have information of several. Johnny Wright (by some called John Harrington)[13] (P,6) gives an interesting account. He had been converted to peyotism, "the

[11] La Barre, 1938, 120, fn. 72: "Willard Park informed me in 1936 that the Paviotso [i.e., Northern Paiute] lacked peyote." Joe Green, one of Park's informants, joined the cult in 1929, continued believing in it, and reaffiliated with it in 1936. He said, "I didn't tell Willard Park about peyote because he didn't ask me."

[12] P, W, and S represent Northern Paiute, Washo, and Shoshone respectively, the tribes of the informants; figures agree with numbered places on the map, where informants live.

[13] The "old Sioux way" or "old Ute way" is still followed by a minority of the peyotists on the Goshute and Uintah-Ouray reservations. Although no detailed description is available, I have learned from the Indians that the moon is smaller, sometimes constructed on a piece of velvet; usually only four peyote buttons are eaten; there is no smoking; meetings are conducted strictly and without levity; and members are very pious. Rules of conduct resemble those of the Oto peyote church (Church of the First Born; see La Barre, 168–169).

[14] Wright interpreted for me in 1936; see Stewart, 1941.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

Indian New Deal," by the Bannock at Fort Hall in 1920, "two years after they got it." From that time he made yearly visits to Idaho, except during the winter of 1926, which was passed with the Shawnee and Kiekapoo, and in the years from 1928 to 1932, when he lived with the Cheyenne and Kiowa and visited other tribes. In spite of his long adherence, Johnny conducted his first ritual in Nevada in January, 1938, to cure his sister, making a special trip to Oklahoma to get peyote. Joe Green (P,11), Leo Okio's assistant, was drummer. Four or five curing meetings and a special Easter service, attended by only a few friends and relatives, were all that followed. Like Lone Bear, Johnny opposes Ben Lancaster because he collects money for personal use and allows too much female participation.

Mike Wallace (P,3), Johnny Wright's nephew, joined the religion at Fort Hall in 1932 and returned there the next two summers and the winter of 1935. In 1936, he attended two of Ben Lancaster's meetings in Nevada. Later, in 1937, after learning the "right way" while on a trip to Oklahoma with his uncle, he opposed Ben.

Jim Street (S,12) was converted at a Goshute peyote meeting at Ibapah, Utah, about 1932, but was inactive until he joined Ben Lancaster's cult in 1938. By November, 1938, Jim was chief drummer and leader during Ben's absences.

George J. Johnnie (P,6) had once taken his father to Utah for a peyote cure, but had not been to Ben's meeting by November, 1938, in spite of his statements that he would go sometime.

Vehement denouncers of peyotism were Ike Sutton (W,Reno), who attended a meeting in Oklahoma; Ray Fillmore (W,2), who went to college at Beeone, Oklahoma, 1930–1933, where "the boys would boil peyote and drink it like beer"; Roy D. Mills, a quarter-blood Sioux (married to a Washo girl), who had used peyote in South Dakota, Utah, and Oklahoma; and Dave Strouse, a quarter-blood Seneca (married to a Washo), who had attended a peyote meeting in Wisconsin. These Indians oppose peyote because "it is a drug" and because Ben Lancaster makes too much money—"it's a racket."

1936 Proselyter Ben Lancaster

The foregoing gives a picture of how the stage was set for Ben Lancaster, also known as Chief Gray Horse, producer and principal actor in the 1936 episode of Washo-Paiute peyotism. From him and his acquaintances I gathered a knowledge of his life before his return to Nevada after a twenty-year absence, and the data illuminate his cult and its effect upon the two tribes.

He was born about 1880, probably near Mountain House, Nevada, an old stage-coach station about fifteen miles south of Gardnerville, almost on the Nevada-California state line; and incidentally, also on the boundary between Washo and Northern Paiute territory. His mother was Washo. Who his father was is not known; he is said by most Indians to have been white.[11] Part of the year 1899 he went to the Carson Indian School, this being the extent of his formal education. During his youth he was a ranch hand: milking cows, herding sheep, working hay, getting drunk, traveling around western Nevada. Living with Paiute and Washo, he learned both languages.

Fair enough to pass for a white man, he deserted his Indian friends and ranch jobs to become eventually the "best bartender in Nevada" and a professional gambler. From Reno he went to San Francisco to "work on the water front." While in that city, he learned to cook opium in a Chinatown den on Dupont Street, and later worked near by in a "planing mill at the foot of Broadway in Oakland."

[11] On the government census rolls, he is classified as fullblood.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13 ●
Washo NT20

Don James (W,2) was taken into the peyote cult with special enthusiasm, much to the surprise of members and outsiders, for he had been one of Ben's most articulate and adverse critics for a year. Ben was attracted to him apparently as he had been attracted to Jim Street and for the same reasons. Don joined to stop drinking and because peyote had helped his mother, Maggie James. He had equipment worth about $10,000—shearing machine, trucks, and a string of horses which he rented to tourists at Lake Tahoe. He boasted he had borrowed and repaid $3000, and an official of the Minden bank said his credit was good for almost any amount.

The James boys invited the members to Lake Tahoe in July; the Kenos moved to Campbell Ranch, near Yerington, which replaced Wellington as meeting place; and finally a meeting was requested at Bishop, California, in August, 1938.

Although Bishop was the last place to request a meeting, Soda Tom's wife (P,14) and daughter Rosy Moose (P,14) were members of several years' standing. Like Joe Green of Nixon, Soda Tom's wife and Rosy joined Ben's cult because of belief instilled by Leo Okio. In 1930 they had heard of Leo's doctoring and traveled from Bishop to the Fallon Reservation, and thence to Nixon to participate in as many meetings as possible. They had had experience with Ben's cult in the summer of 1937 when at Mono Lake with Johnson Charles (P), a relative. All the Indians in Bishop knew that Soda Tom, his wife, Rosy Moose, and Johnson Charles were members and had heard of Jimmie Sam's recovery from his aunt who lives in Bishop. But they had also heard of the incest of Joaquin Brown, of the deaths of Ed Decroy and Young Charlie, and that peyote is a dangerous dope. None attended the meeting at Soda Tom's. However, the house was filled with approximately seventy members who came from as far away as Fallon, 160 miles, no one traveling less than 60 miles.

Ben Lancaster conducted his last 1938 meeting for the Washo and the Northern Paiute on November 6, at Bishop, where nearly a hundred peyotists were assembled. During the next week, he gathered piñon nuts, and with four 100-pound sugar sacks filled (half donated by Soda Tom) he departed for Texas. In spite of Ben's suggestions to the contrary, Louise Byers went with him.

On the same day that Ben left Bishop, Sam Dick conducted a meeting at Coleville, well attended by devotees who previously had accused him of evil practice and had spurned his meeting while Ben was present. Possibly many came from curiosity because, when appointing Jim Street to represent him and leaving him a supply of peyote, Ben had announced that Sam had no medicine and could get none; thus definitely breaking with Sam, whose special interpretations he had tolerated for a year.[a] Sam accuses Jim of using devil power to separate him from his "dear brother Ben"; and competes with Jim for the faithful. Members are aware of the hatred Sam holds for Jim and some take sides, but most will go to either meeting, for "wherever peyote is used, there can be no wrong."

In two years, peyotism spread to fourteen communities scattered in an area extending 250 miles north to south and 100 miles east to west. Reno and Benton were the only important locations of Indian communities in this 25,000 square miles at which ceremonies had not been held (see the map, p. 67, and table 1, p. 122).

CHANGES IN RITUAL AND ATTITUDES

In spite of the possibility of change in a religion transplanted into a new cultural setting, the diffusion outlined above has affected the peyote ritual relatively little. The similarity between the Washo-Paiute ritual and its Kiowa-Comanche prototype is evident from the detailed description and the element distribution list

[a] I had sold Sam five hundred peyote buttons for $5.00, having obtained them from Laredo, Texas, for such emergencies.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

contained in the appendices (pp. 103–121). There are, nevertheless, some unique features about the western Great Basin manifestation which merit consideration.

Perhaps the most unusual feature is the position accorded to women: they lead the singing while holding the staff and rattle, beat the drum, and sometimes even act as chief drummer. In contrast to this, La Barre (p. 60) reports that most tribes formerly forbade women to attend meetings at all and that in more recent times "only two cases are known of women who fully participated in meetings," one among the Cheyenne, the other at Taos. If they tie feathers on their wrists, even menstruating women are allowed in meetings by the Washo and the Paiute, a practice never permitted in the Plains. Could it be that women are allowed full participation because in the Great Basin women were shamans? Possibly; but more likely it resulted from Ben's need for an experienced helper in the early period of peyote's spread and, to a lesser extent, from his observance of Cheyenne ritual. Admitting the practice was unusual, Ben simply said, "It's all right.... It makes them feel better, more equal."

La Barre (pp. 60, 69) reports that women never use eagle-feather fans, but this privilege, along with drumming and singing, is accorded to Washo-Paiute women.[a] The use of all individual fans, however, is prohibited until midnight. The participation of women naturally brought infants of both sexes to the Nevada peyote meetings. All these are given "tea," that is, diluted infusions of peyote; once two eight-year-old boys sat in the front row, took their turns with rattle and drum, and ate dried peyote buttons.

The Washo-Paiute peyote ceremony lacks the "Morning Water Call" ritual found elsewhere. Sam Dick explains that it is omitted to make the procedure easier; Ben, admitting the "Morning Water Call" is customary, insists the "oldest way" did not have it. I suspect the large number of inexperienced people tends to make the meeting too long, and Ben shortens it where it will be least noticeable.

The Ute and the Plains tribes use four fixed songs: Opening, Midnight Water Call, Morning Water Call, and Quitting; and usually they sing only peyote songs during the meeting. In Washo-Paiute meetings any song may be given in any part of the ritual; there are no fixed songs. Ben allows new converts to sing any songs they know—handgame, dance, gambling, and so on, making another departure from conventional peyotism. However, peyote songs are required as soon as possible; and for a month after his first Dresslerville meeting, Ben conducted nightly singing practice to teach regular peyote songs. Altering of the cult song pattern did not allow, as one might expect, aboriginal Washo or Northern Paiute words or the Great Basin musical style to be introduced; for in spite of the fact that some new songs were "received from peyote" by Nevada converts, form and syllables of all Washo-Paiute peyote songs sound very similar to those of the Ute, Plains, and quite different from Washo-Paiute handgame, dance, and doctoring songs.[b]

Another unusual feature of this peyote ritual is the absence of whistle blowing. Other tribes have an eagle-humerus whistle placed near the altar during the ritual to be blown at the Midnight and Morning Water Calls and before the midnight prayers to the cardinal directions. Ben asserts he omits whistling from the ritual because he cannot get any sound out of the bone, claiming he gave his whistle to Sam. Sam does not use it, explaining, "We are just learning and do the best we can." This omission is especially noteworthy since a characteristic of the indigenous culture is the use of an eagle-bone whistle by shamans in their curing.

[a] Sometimes Uintah and Southern Ute women also owned eagle feathers or were lent them to use.

[b] Curtis, 1930, wrote down music and words for some Oklahoma peyote songs which appear to me similar to those of the Washo. I recorded Washo and Paiute aboriginal songs and peyote songs, which Professor Herzog is analyzing.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

Ben himself drew my attention to two unorthodox particulars. First, he always places the ritual paraphernalia on the ground to his left (near the north end of the moon) with the tips of the feathers pointing north, "so they are always on their way around." The Ute alternate from left to right side according to a definite rule, which Ben considers wrong. A second peculiarity is the erection of a circular wall of canvas for meetings, instead of a tipi. Calling his method the "tipi way," Ben admits tipis are good for small crowds, but says they are inadequate for his meetings. It is possible this practice is partly conditioned by a similar method among the Cheyenne,[9] familiar to Ben, or is adopted from the Paiute shaman's custom of doctoring in brush enclosures. However, convenience is surely the chief determinant, for Ben also holds rituals in houses, sheds, and brush and grass enclosures.

"The use of parched corn . . . for the peyote breakfast may be regarded as universal for peyotism, wherever found," writes La Barre (p. 56). The Washo and Northern Paiute, however, use boiled rice. No explanation for the substitution is given. Since the Goshute sometimes use rice, Ben may have picked up the idea on his way to Nevada.

Although *Artemisia* is readily available in the Washo-Paiute area, it is not arranged for members to sit upon during meetings, as is done throughout the Plains. A few twigs, however, as elsewhere, are passed around at the start of meeting; and leaves are picked off, chewed, and rubbed over the body before the bundle is attached to the staff. Washo and Northern Paiute also have the hitherto unreported practice of mixing chopped "sage" leaves in their special prayer cigarettes.[10] The local *Artemisia tridentata* is not used, a special "sage" being imported from Texas. Although no mention is made of it in the literature, Voegelin wrote me that this feature is present among the Absentee Shawnee; also Lone Bear and John Wright, peyotists well acquainted with Oklahoma ritual but who do not attend Ben's meetings, both prepared "sage" cigarettes to clear my throat while we were practicing peyote songs. As with the Ute, the Washo-Paiute peyotists use ordinary wheatstraw cigarette papers instead of the cornhusks characteristic of the Plains.

The Washo-Paiute peyote paraphernalia differ slightly from those reported as typical: the staff or cane is undecorated; two feathers are tied near the top of the cane with the *Artemisia* after midnight; small feathers sometimes replace the usual horsehair decoration on the distal ends of the gourd-rattle handle; nearly everyone has his own rattle; and the chief's fan is not passed with the staff until after midnight (the Ute, at least, pass it all night). The custom of passing the chief's staff and rattle around the circle after the formal ending of the ritual is, I think, also limited to the Washo-Paiute cult. Each member sights along the staff as if aiming, then presses it to parts of his body; finally, holding it in front of him, he gives four long shakes with the rattle. Since Washo-Paiute shamans tie two feathers to the stick used in curing, this may have prompted peyotists to do the same, although the same practice occurs among the Delaware (Petrullo, 51). On the other hand, since shamans sometimes touch their patients with a stick, it is likely that the Washo and Northern Paiute simply added the staff to the custom of touching the body with the drumstick, usual in Utah and Colorado. The drinking of the blackened water from the drum after the buckskin has been removed and touching the water to the body with the drumstick is also unusual.[11]

In other respects, Ben and Sam seem less exacting than Ute "chiefs." The butts

[9] La Barre, 61.
[10] Schultes wrote me that he had never heard of the practice.
[11] At a meeting at Randlett, Utah, Ben persuaded the Ute to drink the water from the drum, but it was not done at other Ute peyote meetings that I attended.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13 ● Washo NT20

of Washo-Paiute personal prayer cigarettes are placed against the moon before the chief and his assistants have puffed them and before the chief has prayed; the "peyote breakfast" receptacles are placed on the ground east of the fire in the same order after passing as before passing, instead of the usual reverse order; and the chief rolls cigarettes "to pray through" after the ritual.

A most surprising departure is dancing. At one meeting conducted by Sam without Ben the members danced a few times around the half-moon altar following the ritual and the morning recess. (See pl. 2, *b*).[39] It occurred while waiting for dinner and was informal and spontaneous; nevertheless, nothing comparable has ever been reported among other tribes in the United States. Dancing is often part of Mexican peyote rituals.[40]

Unique is the insistence that devotees carry tin cans into meeting for vomiting and spitting. This is a correlate to their doctrine that vomiting is beneficial because poisons must be eliminated.

Although not strictly part of the ritual, denying certain Indians admittance to meetings and collecting money for the leader are two features seldom reported. Concerning attendance, La Barre writes (p. 60), "All Indians . . . of whatever tribe are welcome in the meetings of all other tribes." Although Ben often asserts that anyone can attend and even took two of his converts to visit Goshute and Ute meetings, he has refused Lone Bear and certain Goshute Indians admittance to his meetings. Since there appears no precedent in indigenous Washo-Paiute culture or in other peyote cults for such actions, it seems clear that Ben wants to keep his followers entirely dependent upon himself and seeks to avoid possible criticism of other experienced peyotists. His refusal to allow Carnegie Smokey to attend meetings in Oklahoma bears out this assumption. In Washo-Paiute peyote meetings the chief is paid in the following manner: the morning after a meeting, following a short recess outside, everyone returns to the meeting place, files between the leaders and a collection basket placed west of the altar, drops money in the basket, and shakes hands with the chief, his assistants, and then with everyone in the circle. John Wright, Lone Bear, and Charles E. Apekaum,[41] three widely experienced peyotists, criticize Ben's practice of collecting money. Doubtless his barring of these and certain others at his meetings seems to be his precaution against the members' hearing that peyote meetings are usually free and that peyote at ten cents a button for home use provides him a tenfold profit.[42]

The theological concepts of Washo-Paiute peyotism are also mainly the beliefs of peyote users of other tribes. Some minor innovations are distinguishable: regarding the moon as a symbol of the creator, considering the fan a messenger to carry prayers to God and a symbol of God's helper during the creation. New concepts are that songs have power to "infect" and are good or bad, that bad songs cause one to see blood, and that blood represents disease sent by witches or "crooked" peyotists.

Songs are also invested with power in old Washo-Paiute shamanistic lore;

[39] The dance step was the same as that used in the Round dance.

[40] Lumholtz, 1900; Zingg, 1939, 400; Bennett and Zingg, 1935, 293–294; Beals, 1932, 216.

[41] La Barre's Kiowa interpreter (see La Barre, p. 3), in answer to my inquiry, wrote me from Fort Cobb, Oklahoma, September 13, 1938: "Gray Horse at one time sold medicine in Lawton, Oklahoma . . . John Harrington [known also as Johnny Wright] reports the work of Gray Horse in Nevada which are not satisfactory, it seem that he is using . . . the Church for mercenary purposes."

[42] According to La Barre (p. 64), only the Oto pass a vessel in the morning for a free-will offering, but Jack Wilson in Oklahoma and his Delaware and Quapaw disciples (see Petrullo, 44; La Barre, 158), Sam Roan Bear among the Ute (and among the Bannock, Goshute, and Taos, according to Johnny Wright), Leo Okio among the Northern Paiute, and Lone Bear among the Washo, also used the peyote cult to make money.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13 ●
Washo NT20

through their use the Indian performs as a doctor, good or bad. Inasmuch as this concept is foreign to other peyote cults and is close to the local shamanistic pattern, it is possible that it was taken into peyotism from the indigenous culture. One must bear in mind, however, that this concept is held by only a few members, Ben and several others denying it, and is most often expressed by ex-shaman Sam Dick. Sam judges his own songs good; those of a person he dislikes are bad songs. On the other hand, Sam is accused by others of having evil songs. It is quite possible this is an example of insertion into the peyote cult of an earlier Washo-Paiute culture element. However, whether we consider this concept as integral to peyotism or not, aboriginal Washo-Paiute beliefs have found very little place in the ideology of peyotism.

The peyotists' belief in good and bad songs is close to their belief in witchcraft. Opler reports that witchcraft was practiced in the meetings of the Mescalero Apache, but it is certainly not typical of peyotism, being contrary to the universal doctrines of the cult. Nevada peyotists have become increasingly concerned with sorcery from interpreting visions. When fellow peyotists are accused of practicing witchcraft, they are also accused of general malfeasance, for it is believed the correct use of peyote destroys evil powers. Witchcraft here, however, is not fundamental to the religion.

The recently converted Washo and Northern Paiute duplicated nearly every attitude that La Barre found in the entire Plains and in Mexico. To psychological insecurity La Barre attributes the claim that peyote is a cure for alcoholism, assessing it as "counterpropaganda" against arguments alleging that peyote is harmful; but since peyote's first arrival in Nevada this claim has been accepted as doctrine. La Barre believes that the assignment at Taos to the peyote of power to bring rain and to protect from sorcery is due to the intense opposition and insecurity of the cult plus the aboriginal culture pattern. Both these "powers" are assigned to the peyote by some of the Washo and Northern Paiute. The Washo-Paiute peyotists also manifest contrasting attitudes such as La Barre presents for Taos and the Plains: the extreme seriousness of Taos, the occasional levity and joking about the peyote of the Plains.

The following attitudes concerning the peyote plant, assigned by La Barre to particular tribes, are all expressed by Nevada peyotists:

Tarahumara: Peyote feared by uninitiated; must be properly cared for to be protected.
Tarahumara and Apache: Peyote readers invulnerable.
Cheyenne: Peyote tricky.
Lipan Apache: Dangerous; sometimes scares; if used properly, courageously, it is all right.
Delaware, Arapaho, Taos: Vomiting is punishment; vomiting cleanses.
Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Winnebago: Suffering for peyote is virtue.
Taos, Mescalero Apache: Protects from witchcraft.
Plains: Peyote protects; warns of enemy; predicts results of battle.

According to Radin, public declaration of faith and confession of sins were introduced by Rave because they were part of the old Winnebago pattern; yet we find confessions common among the Washo and the Northern Paiute peyotists.

In conclusion, Ben Lancaster's cult has remained similar in ritual and doctrine to the type cult of the Kiowa-Comanche.[11] Changes are minor and could have occurred in Oklahoma, for, as La Barre (p. 63) points out, "The leader has full authority to change the ceremony in any way he wishes . . . and rare is the man who

[11] Appendix II shows that the Washo-Paiute cult differs in 64 elements out of 265 reported from other tribes. Since the elements are of unequal importance, these figures suggest a greater distinction than actually exists.

I4:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

does not introduce some change." Except for the survival within the cult of the aboriginal ideas concerning the power of songs and concerning witchcraft, other distinctive features of the Washo-Paiute cult can be attributed to Ben Lancaster. His reason for changing the cult is clear: expediency, to facilitate its introduction and to maintain complete control for his own financial benefit.

REACTIONS OF PEOPLE

Although only a relatively small number ever espoused peyotism,[47] its effect on the group is considerable, for peyotists and nonpeyotists alike are caught in a mesh of experiences, prejudices, and gossip, which leads to new interests and suspicions, accompanied by every degree of vituperation or praise. The vehemence of divergent opinions causes a distinct rift in Washo-Paiute communities. Old friends and neighbors are separated, families broken up. Old John Walker (W,2) grieves because his son will not bring his grandson to see him; Sam Dick is accused of calling Old John a witch. Leanna Tom (P,5) and Ennie Cornbread (W,9) refuse to associate with their unconverted daughters, and Ennie persuaded another daughter to leave her disapproving husband. A family, such as that of Ben James (W,2), whose members remain on speaking terms when only part attend meetings, is rare. Whole communities are divided. Half the residents of Dresslerville presented a signed petition to the Indian agent asking that meetings be prohibited on Indian communal land.[48] In the letter attached, Hank Pete said, "If the peyote meeting continues much longer, we will all be enemies." Sam Dick, confident of supernatural protection for peyotists, suggested that the members and nonmembers line up and "shoot it out." Failing to secure official assistance, opponents got drunk and forcibly stopped all meetings in or near Gardnerville, discouraging meetings in Carson Valley in the summer and fall of 1938. Moreover, mob action has been used or threatened in most communities until now the places of impending meetings are kept from nonmembers. This practice of nonintercourse and suspicion might easily interfere with community effort, such as that proposed under the Reorganization Act."

An interesting by-product of this social dichotomy is the revival of a belief in witchcraft. Although Ben Lancaster refers to God, Jesus, and Peyote as the rulers of the universe, he fosters a belief in other powers by insisting that peyote destroys or removes them. Each peyotist, of course, denies he has any personal power, considering himself protected by God's power, which peyote directs for his benefit. Nonpeyotists, however, hearing talk of power, accuse devotees individually of causing trouble, especially sickness, through witchcraft. Washo shamans have been busy

[47] Carson Agency: 5 per cent; Indians in villages where meetings were held: 14 per cent. See Appendix III for full statistics.

[48] This petition, in the Carson Agency file, is dated April 20, 1937, and carries signatures of 75 Washo Indians. Four of the signers changed their opinions and were active members in November, 1938. Some Yankton Sioux and Goshute also petitioned the Federal Government to put a stop to the cult on their reservations.

[49] A schism such as that which developed in Washo-Paiute society, due to divergent attitudes, is not unique in American Indian history, but since ethnographers usually do not record opposition to cults, it is not surprising to find only scant mention of others. Du Bois (pp. 23–24) records, "Undoubtedly, factors for resistance among the Yurok were strong enough to cause a schism in Yurok society for the duration of the [1870] Ghost Dance." Gifford (p. 369) found that only about a third of the Clear Lake Pomo participated in the Maru phase of 1870 Ghost Dance, "thus bearing out the informant's statement that many individuals disliked the maru ceremonies." Parsons' description (p. 67) of the situation at Taos illustrates the social results of opposing views regarding peyote. A dangerous feud has developed because the pueblo officers raided a peyote meeting in 1921 and took the shawls and blankets of the devotees. The unfriendly council ordered the payment of $25 for the return of each piece of the confiscated property, but after eighteen years this property is still unclaimed and is a source of much local discord. Another time, the American courts were resorted to, when a Taos governor fined peyotists from $700 to $1000 for singing a song.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

with them. Nonetheless, 30 informants are averse to peyotism on grounds that Ben is "robbing the Indians."

A significant economic argument against peyotism is neglect of farms and cattle and lost employment because of excessive devotion to religion. In the first months of Ben's proselyting, from two to four meetings were often held on as many consecutive nights and fanaticism kept some away from their responsibilities.

Members say that shamans and gambling-house proprietors probably dislike the cult because it takes away some of their clientele.[a] Two who temporarily joined the peyote religion were known to be hypochondriacs, one a steady customer of shamans, the other a frequent inmate of the hospital. Gamblers would be expected to resist a religion which held all-night meetings on Saturday nights. Moreover, it is suggested that bootleggers instigated some antagonism.

Kinship, friendship, and the satisfaction derived from a sociable in-group were also important factors contributing to the spread and growth of peyotism.[b] Just as real or assumed blood relationship and friendship facilitated Ben's introduction of the cult, family ties were important in increasing and holding members. An examination of the list in Appendix IV shows that most active peyotists have kinsfolk in the cult. However, this list also shows enough close relatives of members to be apostates or actively opposed to void any generalization that kinship wholly determines participation. Although only a few designate the pleasure of singing and meeting together as a reason for attendance, the enthusiastic preparation of gourd rattles, fans, etc., and the almost nightly singing practices indicate that the desire for social contact helps to convert and hold the Indians to peyotism.[c]

The basis for arguments of both peyotists and nonpeyotists is unverified opinion, wishful thinking, conscious or unconscious distortion of facts. Because of one or two apparently miraculous recoveries members attribute to peyote the power to cure all illness. Desiring to get well or to have their friends or families healed, they are prepared to accept excuses for failures. Opponents, on the other hand, blame peyote for the few deaths which followed attendance at rituals, maintaining peyote is a poison and that all users meet untimely ends. Opponents insist that peyotism is not a religion at all, but a congregation of narcotic addicts disguising their true purpose in order to avoid legal interference. To the members, however, peyotism is a religion, and it is extremely difficult, when listening to their prayers, to doubt their complete sincerity. So the argument swings on each point. Each side has as much truth as the other. Through associations and chance, these people choose what to believe.

DISCUSSION OF DIFFUSION

Whenever the diffusion of native religions has been studied, two theories, singly or combined, have been used to explain the phenomenon. The first, the cultural compatibility theory, postulates that new institutions will be acceptable to a people

[a] Parsons' account (pp. 67–68, 118–119) of opposition to peyote at Taos shows similar motivation: "The practice of . . . the outstanding shaman of the town is interfered with by peyote doctoring. I surmise that it was not until Porfirio realized the danger of this competition that the active opposition to the cult developed."

[b] Kinship and friendship facilitated the diffusion of the 1870 Ghost Dance, as well as the peyote cult. Du Bois reports (p. 135) intertribal marriages precipitated the transmission of the 1870 Dance from Shasta to Karok, Yurok to Tolowa to Tututni. Friendship aided a California Shasta proselyting related Shasta and other tribes on the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations in Oregon. La Barre reports (pp. 112, 116) that "marital ties have often . . . been the source of the spread of peyote"; the first Comanche user learned of peyote when he married an Apache woman; Rave's first converts were his Winnebago relatives; a Modoc in Oklahoma became a peyotist through marriage to a Quapaw.

[c] La Barre states (p. 59) that "the primary reason for Northern Cheyenne meetings is social."

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

if the introduced complex is similar to some aspects of the indigenous culture, or can be interpreted in the light of existing principles.[a] The second is the cultural disintegration theory, which says that peoples experiencing cultural disintegration and degradation will readily accept new religions, especially those which promise the miraculous restoration of former conditions of life.[b] So satisfactory have appeared the interpretations based on these postulates they have almost become truisms in ethnology. Although no one has assumed they explained everything, they have been employed almost exclusively, either because data for more detailed analysis were lacking or because the problem seemed adequately solved.

How do the facts of the diffusion of the peyote cult to the Washo-Paiute fit into these theories? Application of the cultural compatibility theory does not result in a satisfactory explanation. The following ceremonial elements in the aboriginal culture might be said to resemble those in the peyote complex: the Great Basin curing performance is a semisocial affair in which both sexes assist the shaman by singing and smoking; staff, rattle, feathers, and eagle-wingbone whistle are used; curing ceremonies last all night and have midnight intermissions; the Washo have a ceremonial number four and clockwise ceremonial direction; shamans have visions; Jimson weed is used for curing, visions, luck, prognostication, clairvoyance—"Roots are ground, soaked, and boiled, concoction being drunk."[c] Thus, peyotism and Washo-Paiute ceremonial usage have a number of elements in common.

However, if the cultural compatibility explanation is carried to its logical conclusion, one should list the ceremonial elements which differ from those in peyotism, for if similarities favor acceptance, differences should hinder it. Elements in aboriginal Washo-Paiute ceremonialism unlike those in peyotism are: an extremely simple curing ceremony in which only the shaman's personal songs are sung and a tubular pipe is smoked; no drum is used; the rattles are made of cocoons, rawhide, or deerhoofs instead of gourds; the staff is not passed around but is stuck in the ground; single feathers instead of a fan are used; the Northern Paiute ceremonial number is five, and the ceremonial direction counterclockwise; powers are received in visions during normal sleep, visions being of spirits, water babies, and animals, which represent the shaman's supernatural power; in curing, the shaman goes into a trance to allow his soul to pursue and return the lost soul of the sick person, or he removes stones, insects, blood, etc., from the patient by sucking.

When dissimilarities as well as similarities are considered, analysis becomes complicated by the necessity of evaluating the relative strength of the opposing factors. Furthermore, with regard to Washo-Paiute peyotism, the problem is more

[a] Radin, 1914, 7: "We have, then at the beginning, apparently the introduction of only one new element,—the peyote; with possibly a few Christian teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned, there was no introduction of a new element." Shonle, 59: ". . . the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of Peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread." Opler, 164: ". . . the reason for [the peyote cult's] slavish acceptance is not far to seek. The elements, or quite similar ones, were already present in Apache ceremonial usage." La Barre, 121 (also, 7, 117): "Conceivably it could spread until it embraced all Plains, Basin, and Woodlands groups whose earlier culture is sufficiently consonant with its concepts . . . it appears that the pre-peyote mescal bean cult prepared the way somewhat for the use of the narcotic cactus."

[b] Kroeber, 1925, 868–873, assumes that the Ghost Dance of 1870 spread to California, whereas that of 1890 diffused to the Plains, because "the native civilization of northern California appears to have suffered as great a disintegration by 1870 . . . as the average tribe of the central United States had undergone by 1890." See also Lowie, 1925, 188–200, and many others.

[c] Steward, 1933, 318.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

complex, for the influence of modern Washo-Paiute culture must also be included. Although shamans, girls' puberty rites, and other aboriginal aspects of culture persist in western Nevada, it is impossible, except upon the basis of very detailed and explicit data, to say that they are stronger conditioning forces than schools, movies, doctors, missionaries, and white employers.

In applying the cultural compatibility theory ethnographers base their conclusions on the harmony of the transplanted traits with the indigenous elements, a harmony which Radin (1914, 9) insisted upon after his informants denied its existence. But even if the Indians recognize that the introduced cult is like an old local institution, is there any assurance that they will therefore accept the new? May not the opposite be true? I have definite evidence that recognized similarity between peyote and Jimson weed (*Datura meteloides*, D. C.) caused certain Paiute to oppose peyotism."

Although peyote meetings have been held in Owens Valley, where Jimson weed was used, to which everyone was invited, only four of 250 Indians attended the meetings. Even more significant is the fact that seven Northern Paiute, some living beyond the Jimson weed region but knowing of it, said that they oppose peyote because it resembles Jimson weed in its physiological and psychological effects. They believe that Jimson weed might be an effective means of obtaining supernatural aid for curing, gambling, etc., but they will not take chances with dangerous powers. The account of Johnny Cleveland, first convert at Schurz, is enlightening in this respect, for Johnny claims that peyote cured his arm which had been sore for twenty years. After being cured, he refuses to continue active in the cult, saying that he is afraid the same power that cured him might spoil him if used when not actually needed. To quote him, "Peyote is just like muipō that they use down south."[2]

Considering Washo-Paiute data in the light of the cultural disintegration theory, there appears surface justification, for there is no doubt that the two tribes have lost almost all their native economy and that they maintain their primitive religion and social life in attenuated forms under difficult circumstances. The justification, however, is only skin deep, for our discussion rests, not on whether cultural degradation has occurred, but upon the effects of that degradation upon the diffusion of peyotism. Since the aboriginal culture of all Washo and Northern Paiute has almost completely disappeared and since all have experienced extreme deprivation, one can assume that they should react alike. Since the Washo share generally the remnant of their aboriginal culture and have a fairly uniform position with regard to modern American culture, they should exhibit similar reactions to a new religion. This is also true for the Northern Paiute. However, only parts of these tribes ever accepted the new cult. Only 5 per cent of the 5895 Indians of the Carson Agency ever joined peyotism, whereas in two villages half of the population were active peyotists at one time. Although all the Washo and Paiute heard of Ben Lancaster's cult, it was confined to a part of the reservation, and even in the area of its greatest appeal, only 300 of 2257 adults were sufficiently interested to attend two or more meetings. By November, 1938, 189 had lost interest, many becoming militant opponents."[3]

And this fact of partial participation is equally significant in refuting a cultural

[1] La Barre (105–109, 131–137) demonstrates that datura and mescal beans are close narcotic and ritual equivalents, and argues (pp. 7, 117, 121) that the use of mescal beans "prepared the way" for peyote's introduction in the Plains. By the same reasoning, use of datura should have facilitated peyotism's acceptance by the Paiute.

[2] Muipō might be some unidentified narcotic resembling Jimson weed, but I think the Nevada Northern Paiute have one term for both. See Steward, 1933, 318.

[3] See Appendix III for complete statistics.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13 ●
Washo NT20

compatibility explanation of this situation. That 14 per cent of the Indians near the center of peyotist activity accepted the cult prohibits the conclusion that it was culturally incompatible; on the other hand, a majority opposition proves that cultural compatibility alone would not insure its general acceptance.

Questions naturally arise from this lack of uniformity in participation. What makes some Indians accept and others reject the new religion? Do peyotists form a distinct cultural or social subdivision of the society? Do they have common characteristics, status, economic position, etc., which unite them and distinguish them from others? Do peyotists belong to a distinct socio-economic group? The answers come from data procured in the field concerning 1000 Indians, the total adult population in the communities where peyote was most enthusiastically accepted.

As one would expect in a group which aboriginally recognized distinction solely on the basis of personality and achievement, the Washo and Northern Paiute have no mechanism for class or group social status. Individuals are today, as formerly, judged according to their ability. Therefore, personal performance is the one practicable criterion upon which categories of social participation might be established. Besides determining the number of adherents to the cult, information was obtained concerning financial status, willingness to work, use of alcoholic drinks, activity in Christian missions, shamanism, election to tribal councils, and degree of Indian blood. Personal observations were supplemented by the opinions of Carson Agency social workers; merchants who trade with Indians at Fallon, Colville, and Woodfords; Indian Service doctors at Wellington, Yerington, and Bishop; and the subagent at Fallon Reservation. These people went over lists of Indians in their vicinities, checking those outstanding for the characteristics here listed. There was no important disagreement when two or more people appraised the same individual.

The results of this count, presented in full in table 3 in Appendix III, show that the peyote cult attracted a representative percentage of the population. Neither the member group nor the nonmember group have in common any social traits which distinguish them from each other. For example, 5.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 5.7 per cent of the peyotists were outstandingly prosperous; 1.7 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were noted for not drinking; 1.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were or had been shamans; 13.1 per cent and 10.9 per cent respectively of the nonpeyotists and peyotists were of mixed blood.[*]

Were it possible to psychoanalyze a representative sample of the cult members and its opponents, we might find personality types peculiar to each group in meaningful percentages. Probably, however, we should find great differences within each component of the society, and also numerous similarities between the two. Although the behavior and history of some individuals seem to explain why they react

[*] Some correlation between social status and acceptance of new culture elements has been reported. Shimkin tells me that although the peyotists constitute only about 30 per cent of Wind River Shoshone population, they make up over 50 per cent of the participants in the Episcopalian mission, the Ghost Dance, the Sun Dance, and the tribal council. They belong to the half of the tribe which can be designated as participators, in contrast to the half of nonparticipators. It is difficult to say which is cause, which effect, but such a correlation certainly suggests a causal relationship. Philleo Nash writes (p. 441) that those who joined the 1870 Ghost Dance on the Klamath Reservation could be placed in a single category: those who attempted to accept white culture and were economically disappointed. They constituted a group apart from both those who resisted innovation and the agency Indian employees who made a successful reorientation. Barnett concludes (pp. 27–28) that the culturally maladjusted—the mixed-bloods, widows, invalids, etc.—unite to form a recognizable section of Hupa society which has espoused the Shaker religion. Jenks (101–107) wrote that mixed-bloods develop peculiar attitudes which place them in the vanguard in accepting new culture traits. [See ca. 116, p. 123-Aw.]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

differently from the majority in joining the cult, finding individuals in the cult with very unlike histories, in addition to people with apparently similar backgrounds opposing the cult, weakens generalizations based on psychological factors.[11]

The James family is a case in point. If only the mother and one son were considered, it would seem obvious that they joined to be cured, the mother of goiter, the son of trachoma. Furthermore, the son may have felt inferior to his three exceptionally capable brothers and therefore sought comfort, self-aggrandizement, and approval in the new religion. A good case might be built up were it not for the fact that the most talented and successful of his brothers also joined the cult. The two hardly joined for the same reason. If such personality studies provided an authentic basis for generalization, the three successful brothers should have reacted alike, instead of one joining with the inferior, weak member. In this family the mother, two sons, a daughter, and two granddaughters are active members of the religion; the father, two sons, and a daughter-in-law are nonmembers but tolerant of the cult; a daughter, a granddaughter, a son-in-law, and a daughter-in-law are severe denouncers and critics of peyotism."

The theories of cultural compatibility and disintegration receiving little support from an analysis of participation according to social and economic position, we must conclude that, in spite of a belief that type of culture and degree of cultural integration influence behavior, their effect on the diffusion of peyotism to the Washo-Paiute is not significant.

Since percentage of population converted to a transplanted religion is a crucial datum in evaluating theories propounded to explain its diffusion, it seems worthwhile to apply this criterion, where possible, to other cases of the diffusion of religions. Kroeber knew that the 1870 Ghost Dance was not accepted by all individuals in groups to which it spread, and that it had a very different reception among tribes having almost identical cultures and in similar conditions of deprivation. He reasoned a priori that the differential acceptance resulted from variation in cultural disintegration.[12] Du Bois, in her exhaustive study of the same movement, confirmed the disproportion between conversion and culture or disintegration, and stated (p. 136): "Once an idea or complex has been introduced into a group there are factors making for its acceptance or rejection." In like manner, the modern Shaker cult has, according to Barnett, been partially accepted in northern California.

Mooney's data on the 1890 Ghost Dance show that in every tribe there was some opposition to it, varying from a majority in some to a minority in others. He often repeated the theory of cultural disintegration to explain what occurred, yet described tribes in identical circumstances reacting differently. For example, he wrote (pp. 902–906, 1044) that the Comanche had been "close confederates of the Kiowa for perhaps 150 years" and that the two were together when finally defeated and made "prisoners and paupers" in 1874–1875. The Kiowa, at least temporarily, accepted the Ghost Dance enthusiastically, but the Comanche as a group had nothing to do with it. The same general conditions which Mooney gave as adequate reasons for acceptance of the Ghost Dance by the Kiowa (and other Plains tribes) existed among the Comanche, yet the Comanche did not take up the cult.

The diffusion of the peyote cult in other areas was also thought to have resulted from cultural compatibility and disintegration, which Shonle (p. 59) called "the restless and almost despairing need for reorganization of religion to meet the needs

[11] Appendix IV shows the status of other families of members.
[12] 1925:868–873.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

of a new type of living."[3] The inadequacy of these theories in respect to the diffusion of peyotism is suggested by statistics published by Newberne (pp. 33–35) concerning adherence to peyotism on most reservations. The percentages of peyotists at a few agencies are as follows: 5 per cent at Southern Ute agency; 5 per cent of Northern Cheyenne and Sioux at Pine Ridge; 75 per cent at Cheyenne and Arapaho agency; 0.7 per cent of Sioux at Rosebud."

These facts are strong indications that people in identical cultural situations reacted differently toward the Ghost Dances and the peyote cult, and lead to the supposition that we know virtually nothing about the manner in which culture conditions acceptance or rejection of new religions.

What is, then, the reason for diffusion? In the case of the Washo-Paiute, the individual, at times with economic motives, looms as a determining element. The first contacts with peyote came through Leo Okio and Lone Bear. The cults established by these men in 1929 and 1932 ceased to be active when one departed and the other was jailed. What might have been the consequences had these men acted differently or had Johnny Wright, Paiute convert of 1920, been a zealous, extroverted leader instead of a shy, introverted personality?

The final establishment of peyotism among the Washo-Paiute is comprehended only through an understanding of Ben Lancaster. He was an extremely sophisticated Indian and an opportunist, colorful, aggressive, canny, and prompted by strong ambitions. He was well trained to become a professional missionary during years of experience as a successful salesman of herb medicine. Everything he had said of his "natural laxative" could be said of peyote. He appears to be a deliberate exploiter of his followers; yet it is probably incorrect to call him irreligious or insincere. Johnny Wright's and Mack Haag's statements indicate that his conversion was real and that he had been an attentive, conscientious follower of peyotism for fifteen years before bringing it to Nevada. It is true, nevertheless, that he introduced peyote to the Washo-Paiute when unemployed and that he used the cult to get a good living. His disregard for the impecunious shows him to be a selfish person, really interested in helping only those who contributed significantly to his well-being.

In Ben, that is, the individual, rests the crucial factor in Washo-Paiute peyotism. Moreover, in the historical sketch at the beginning of this study, we saw how personal friends and relatives occupied key positions in the cult's spread from village to village, and in the review of opinions concerning the religion we recorded many personal reasons for its acceptance or rejection. Only with these data on individual behavior can there be gained a valid impression of the diffusion, its reasons and consequences—acculturation.

Have individuals played equally decisive roles in the spread of other cults? Ethnologists have realized, of course, that particular agents carried Indian religions from tribe to tribe, and some complete histories of such personalities have been recorded. When it came to analyzing the general phenomenon of diffusion, however, individuals have been minimized, forgotten, or were depicted as automatons of their cultures, and the cultures were dissected to reveal basic motives. With faith shaken that cultural autopsy can adequately expose reasons for behavior and noting that in all groups there are remarkably distinct personal reactions toward introduced cults, proselyters and their motives assume new significance.

The 1870 Ghost Dance furnishes several examples of converts who carried the cult beyond their own tribes and who used the cult for their personal benefit. Du

[3] See fns. 64 and 65, p. 90 above.

[3] Newberne's statistics are reproduced completely in Appendix III.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Yurok N531
Comanche N06

Bois (p. 6) and Nash (p. 414) both tell of Frank Spencer (Weneyuga), who conducted Ghost Dances in 1870 among the Washo, Paiute of Surprise Valley, at Klamath Reservation, and at McDermitt. Knowing that Basin Indians paid shamans well and that Spencer became a famous shaman at McDermitt, I do not doubt that he received something more than glory for his trouble. This is supported by Nash's statement (p. 424) concerning the 1870 movement at Klamath: "The appeal to the leaders—personal aggrandizement of previously declassed individuals—should not be overlooked."

The Shasta Indian who introduced the Earth Lodge variant of the 1870 Ghost Dance to the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations and attempted to get a following among the Columbia River tribes "made quite a lot of money" by selling eagle-tail feathers at $1.00 apiece, headbands for $1.25, and by imposing fines of twenty-five cents for dropping a feather. He was given "three or four horses," also. Another convert, who took the dance to Coos Bay and charged one dollar for attendance, told Du Bois (p. 34): ". . . Cheteo Charlie and I divided the money. . . ." A contemporary newspaper account said of the Yurok Ghost Dance leader, "In his character of prophet he exacted a levy of half a dollar from each Indian permitted to join."[8] A Wintun invited the Achomawi to a dance with the instruction to bring all their valuables to pay for it.[9] And Du Bois's Chico Maidu informant said, "The River Patwin had wagons and were well-to-do, so they were called to Chico. The Hill Maidu were poor and had to come on foot, so they weren't asked often."

Homaldo (Mexican Jo), one of the Wintun creators of the Bole-Maru, the central California phase of the 1870 Ghost Dance, demanded twenty dollars for holding a meeting and said if it was not paid the rancheria captains "would have bad luck and die." Because Homaldo used sleight-of-hand tricks and had a white man partner, Du Bois (pp. 63–66) writes: ". . . his integrity, if not his influence, is suspect." She did not suspect Paitla, who proselyted western Oregon and the Shasta, Wintun, and Achomawi, although he often accompanied Homaldo and "told people to pay him money so they could be saved."

Except for Homaldo, Du Bois does not consider important the factor of individual financial advantage to the missionaries and innovators in the spread of the 1870 Ghost Dance complex. With the evidence she presents, however, financial reward added to political and social prerogatives appears to have been a strong inducement for converts to carry the religion beyond the confines of their own tribes.

Similar instances are found in the history of the 1890 Ghost Dance. Even the Northern Paiute (Paviotso) Wovoka, who at first seemed to be an unselfish, naïve dreamer, succumbed to the desire for material gain. Steward was told by the Owens Valley Paiute that Wovoka, "losing influence in California and Nevada . . . visited Oklahoma, charging people one dollar to shake hands and dividing the profits with a young boy" (p. 322). Shimkin heard that Wovoka when returning from a tour of the Plains visited Wind River, Wyoming, and charged from ten cents to ten dollars, according to ability to pay, for the same privilege.

The history of the 1890 Ghost Dance, as recorded by Mooney, is primarily one of the successes of outstanding leaders and proselyters." The Arapaho Sitting Bull was the principal Arapaho leader and was probably personally responsible for the spread of the Ghost Dance to the Ponca, Oto, Missouri, Kansa, Iowa, Osage,

[8] Du Bois, 23, 27.
[9] Tom Garth, field notes.
[10] One case was individual obstruction. Mooney said the Comanche did not take to the Ghost Dance because "Quannah Parker, their head chief, opposed the new doctrine and prevented its spread among his tribe."

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

return. John Wright was told that the same Sam Roan Bear "took about $700 from Fort Hall; then was afraid to go back," and Mike Wallace heard likewise. Wright learned in Oklahoma that Sam Roan Bear had also cheated the Taos Indians until exposed by a visiting Cheyenne; and Lone Bear reported that Sam started the cult among the Goshute, and also in Montana and Idaho, being "put in jail over peyote in Blackfoot." Voget learned that Sam Lone Bear (probably Sam Roan Bear) had passed as a great peyote doctor and received much money from the Crow in 1920. The Crow said, "He pulled the same trick on the Shoshone and Arapaho." A Taos peyotist told me in 1939 that Sam Roan Bear was one of the first peyotists who had been there, and La Barre (p. 65) reports that a "Sioux peyote doctor at Taos was given a silk dress of the patient's wife, a belt, and $5.00 in cash." The Uintah Ute told of "peyote peddlers" visiting them, and I talked with two Southern Ute Indians who had been arrested and jailed in Blanding, Utah, for selling peyote to the Indians there. It is not surprising that proselyters, as well as peddlers, share in the profits of the $20,000-a-year traffic in this cactus."

It appears from this review that Indian proselyters have played an important role in disseminating the doctrines of the 1870 Ghost Dance, its derivatives, the 1890 Ghost Dance, and the peyote cult. I suspect that Indians other than Homaldo, Frank White, John Wilson, and Ben Lancaster have profited by aiding the diffusion of native religions, and that the reason the individual and the economic motive have not received more consideration is the incompleteness of our data. It would be false, however, to say that these missionaries have been less devout believers than others; a judgment would have to rest on additional evidence. Likewise, it would be wrong to assume that the doctrines and rituals promulgated by these persons are necessarily different from those spread by others. The doctrines might be changed sufficiently to protect the proselyter's prerogatives, as in the case of Frank White, but only a small percentage of Ben Lancaster's innovations resulted from his desire to insure his income.

In the section treating Washo-Paiute reasons for accepting and rejecting peyote, notes were appended which showed that similar varied and personal motives for behavior had been expressed by peyotists among other tribes, so that there is considerable probability that Indians elsewhere reacted as arbitrarily as the Washo-Paiute. If so, we may assume that a knowledge of individuals and their varied behavior is as essential for a clear understanding of the Ghost dances, Shaker cult, and Plains peyotism as it is for Washo–Northern Paiute peyotism.

In conclusion, I wish to present a generalized picture of the diffusion of peyotism to the Washo and Northern Paiute, with the implication, on the basis of comparisons made, that something similar occurred with the spread of other native religions. Knowledge of the religion came when individuals desired aggrandizement, social, political, above all, economic; therefore becoming proselyters and deliberately setting about to convert the Washo-Paiute. Chance factors of kinship, friendship, and personality were very important in effecting the cult's reception. When the cult became known in the area, there came, also from the outside, opposition to it. In simplest terms, the reasons for rejecting peyotism diffused to the Washo-Paiute and grew in proportion to the cult's gains. Foreign Indians, returning travelers, letters, and Christian missionaries brought to the Washo-Paiute arguments intended to hinder peyote's acceptance. As the Indians had experience with the cult and observed its effects, its value was assessed differently by different persons. Local opinion became divided, each person of necessity judging

[a] Schultes, 1937, 129–131; 1938, 206. La Barre, 64.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

between the opposing claims coming from outside the territory, and between the diverse interpretations based on local happenings.

Since those who decided in favor of peyote and believed it to be of great worth for curing, for salvation, and for better living had no cultural, social, or psychological status in common, but were definitely representative of all elements in the population, it is evident that each reacted as an individual, for purely personal reasons. The overt, stated reasons of the converts, or of the opponents, taken alone, form a rational basis for their behavior. The facts and interpretations which individuals on each side have chosen to believe are understandable motives for their actions. Thus, peyote's introduction and its influence have been dependent on fortuitous circumstances: the proselyter's unemployment, personality, etc., and the individual's choice to believe or not believe information presented as facts. As far as our data go, this explanation seems valid; to go farther would entail an analysis of each person's entire life.

All Washo and Northern Paiute are conscious of their position as an underprivileged minority, and appear to feel the need for stability and self-aggrandizement. Some desire physical improvement, others spiritual; all desire something. Peyotism has provided both physical and spiritual solace for the few who have believed and remained active. It is merely one of many possible means of attaining inner security. Peyotism has satisfied some for only a short time, and may prove permanent or transitory for others; but the majority have not yet and may never find in the cult the answer to their needs.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

PLATE 1

N W 4795 534 [177]

a. Lone Bear (Ralph Kochampanaskin; Ute Indian) with his peyote paraphernalia. Picture taken at Dresslerville, near Gardnerville, and presented to me by Lone Bear. The drum, used only in peyote meetings, is a specially made drum of brass, purchased in Oklahoma. Lone Bear, intending to send this picture to a friend, had written on the back of it the following: "After a peyote meeting. This was taken in the morning. There was 63 indians. Washo indians and they are still using the peyote in old way as I showed them, 'Ute way.' tepee way is to new to us. I will change it to tepee way if all agree. March 7, 1935." (Lone Bear in telling me about this meeting, which he held for his son, said that only his own family were present.)

W [191]

b. Sam Dick, Washo peyote chief, and paraphernalia. Dismantled drum in front. Taken Sunday morning, July, 1938, near Mono Lake.

N W 4795 796

c. Earth and ash moons and remains of fire, in foreground. Members and officers (left to right): Paiute member; Paiute chief drummer (chief's wife); Washo chief; Paiute cedarman; Paiute fire chief; Washo member. Morning after meeting. Mono Lake, July, 1938.

d. Dance around altar after peyote meeting. Mono Lake, July, 1938. The Sierra Nevada rises in the background.

Wadátkuht

175
648
[464]

From about 1880 on the Honey Lake Paiute began increasingly to work as agricultural and domestic laborers for the white settlers, but pursued their old way of life in a modified form. The hunting and gathering cycles of pre-contact times was modified to include seasonal work on the ranches, primarily centered about haying. Many traditional camps and villages were abandoned due to a decrease in population and in order to take advantage of closer contact with particular ranchers from whom the Indians could receive certain benefits. A glimpse of this post-contact type of settlement pattern is given in a following section.

According to Kitty Joaquin the Maidu people were anxious to have peaceful relations with the white people and urged the Paiutes to follow the same policy. The Paiute people, however, distrusted and feared the white people (tai'bo'^{o}) who were coming into their country. They wanted to be rid of these strangers. The first (sic) group of white men were soldiers who camped in a draw low on the mountain slope between Litchfield and the Gibson ranch which is located several miles east of Litchfield. As there is a spring in that locality it was a good place to camp.

[312]

[177]

Kitty stated that the soldiers gave the Indians soap, flour, canned milk, tomato sauce, clothes and shoes. The Indians used the soap to make soup and put the muskmelons into the earth oven to cook. Kitty could not help but laugh as she told of the unsatisfactory results of both these experiments.

A short time after the white people came to Honey Lake Valley a band of Wadátkuht people, including Joaquin (Kitty's father), was on a hunting trip to Eagle Lake (Kitty stated on another occasion that they had gone to the lake to escape the soldiers). A group of soldiers, augmented by a number of Maidu men, were also in the vicinity. Hog-die Jim (Kwiduhm muhtsuad^{a}..."Feces to wipe"), Joaquin's uncle, was afraid that the soldiers and the Maidu would attack the Wadátkuht camp so advised Joaquin and the others to move their camp. Joaquin, however, felt that there was no real danger so was not willing to move camp. Hog-die Jim then took the dried meat, a rabbit skin blanket and all the horses and left.

The soldiers and the Maidu attacked Joaquin's camp and killed everyone except a baby in a cradle board, two women who jumped into the lake and swam to safety, a half-grown girl, and Joaquin. Joaquin, too, jumped into the lake to

Wadátkuht

population was approximately 200 persons. This number could be considered to be a conservative estimate in the light of the expectable decrease in population after contact. An example can be given to show how quickly the Wadátkuht population dropped. A group was camped at Horse Lake and was doing considerable gambling with gunpowder as stakes. Toward morning the players became careless and were handing the powder back and forth across the fire when the powder suddenly ignited and blew the camp up killing fourteen individuals. These people were not included in any of the village lists given me by my informants. Few if any names were given me of those people who died in the early epidemics of smallpox and other such diseases. It would seem, therefore, that an estimate of approximately 200 Wadátkuht Paiute is approximately correct for the aboriginal population of this group.

PHYSIOGRAPHIC FEATURES

The following is a listing of the names and a description of the physiographic features within, and occasionally bordering the homeland of the Honey Lake Paiute. It is surprising to note that some of the major features had no names, or at least could not be remembered by the informants. For example, Susan River had no name despite the fact that it is the major stream in the Wadátkuht territory. The same is true for some of the other streams, although some creeks do have names.

1. Wago' yamos[a] ("Timber Bend"). Two physiographic features are given this designation; one is the section of the Sierra between Thompson Peak and Diamond Mountain. The other is the section of the Sierra about six miles south of Doyle, in the vicinity of Crystal and Adams Peaks. The feature south of Doyle is not in Paiute territory but in Washo country. It is clearly visible from Doyle, however. These two features derived their name from the fact that at both places the timbered Sierra makes a slight bend.

Situated near the base of the Thompson Peak - Diamond Mountain feature is the Mountain Maidu village of Witai im (archaeological site Las-59). This historic Maidu village is called Wago' yamos[a] by the Paiute because of its proximity to the bend in the mountain range.

2. Koda tawaka (the exact meaning was not given, but it refers to an untimbered, manzanita covered slope). Worley Mountain situated about 12 miles northwest of Susanville is

Wadátkuht

133 Lake region prior to 1830. The exact location of this feature
103 has not as yet been obtained but it is located on, or near
[136] the shore of Honey Lake between Milford and Doyle. A buffalo trail is said to have left Honey Lake Valley and gone south through a gap in the Sierra, thus taking these large animals into Maidu or Washo territory.

48. Wutsono ihd ("Whirlpool"). This name is given to Soldier Bridge which is located about 3/4 miles west of Litchfield at a place where the bridge on the old highway crossed Susan River (T29N/R14, on the line between Sections 15
[648] and 16). U. S. soldiers in the early contact period captured two Paiute men here and evidently dispatched them as the relatives never saw the men again. Wutsono ihd received its name from a whirlpool which is said to have occurred at that place in the river.

49. Wogokab ("Timbered"). The Sierra range on the southwest side of Honey Lake Valley is given this name.

[226] 50. Ak' wuhg^{o} ("Sucker"). Long Valley Creek has this
[251] name. This creek was an important source for suckers which were caught in large numbers and dried for winter use by the Wadatkuht and occasionally by the neighboring Washo and Maidu. Joaquin was born in Long Valley.

51. Kasawihnaid ("Takes His Pants Off"). This is the name given Parker Creek, a creek which flows into Baxter Creek and ultimately into Honey Lake. (For a further account of this name see the village named the same in a following section.)

VILLAGES AND CAMPS

361 Specific and detailed information concerning habitation
[182] sites of the Wadátkuht was particularly difficult to obtain.
[177] The primary reason for this is the fact that the strictly aboriginal pattern was disrupted circa 1850 and replaced by a modified habitation pattern which is discussed in a following section. Although new camps and villages sprang up to conform to the dictates of the pioneer ranches and their locations, a number of the old camps and villages were still
361 occupied, at least to a certain extent. It is also to be
174 suspected that occasionally a new habitation was located upon an ancient or archaeological site, thus making the picture even more complex. This interdigitation of patterns and lack

Wadátkuht

POST-CONTACT HABITATION SITES

Ranching by pioneer settlers caused the Indians to modify their habitual camp and settlement pattern, with the abandonment of old villages and camps and the establishment of new ones due to several factors. Two factors were the desire of the Paiute to establish camps near the ranches of the pioneers for whom they worked, and to remove themselves from land being farmed, heavily grazed or otherwise utilized by the newcomers. Since these recent village and camp sites had no names, or at least none were remembered by the informants, it seems valid to assume that these habitation sites were not traditional. However, in some instances these new camps seem to have been fortuitously established on archaeological sites. 361 [177]

The justification for mentioning these post-contact habitation sites is that native type houses and other elements of aboriginal life continued in these camps and villages until about 1920. Before 1920 many individuals living at them had experienced a number of years of purely aboriginal life. Of these post-contact, unnamed camps and villages only the location of the more prominent ones was obtained. [182]

1. The camp near Hostetter's ranch was occupied after 1870 and continued seasonally until 1900, or later. This camp, which was located a short distance north of the Hostetter house (in T28N/R13E/center of Sec. 1), got its water from another ranch house a short distance west. It was at this camp that Joaquin's "uncle", Kwiduhm muhtsu uhd[a] ("Feces to Wipe"), or Hog-die Jim, died. He was buried about one mile east of the camp near the west end of the former irrigation flume which was put in subsequent to his death. [312] [551]

The late Zeb Johnston and his brother Bert Hostetter came to the ranch as children circa 1872 and remember the Indian camps near their place and recalled them using lemon-shaped gambling stones in the hand game (Culin, 1907, p. 293). These stones are commonly found archaeologically in the Honey Lake Valley region, and additionally were used ethnographically in the Madeline Plains area as gambling stones. The Wadátkuht informants, incidentally, did not recognize these stones and did not use them in the hand game. The Pit River people, however, apparently did use these lemon-shaped stones in the ethnographic period, but as hunting charms. They apparently held the stone against their bow with [525] [172] [224]

Wadátkuht

222 Kúa were caught and their legs torn off immediately and then prepared in the same manner as nishu. The kúa were caught wherever they were found in sufficient quantities and were simply picked from the brush, apparently while cold and inactive in the morning.

[224] Yapa and hunípui roots were dug in June or July in the vicinity of Eagle Lake. While in the area the Wadátkuht hunted ducks and deer. Excursions were made to Eagle Lake despite the fact that it lay outside their recognized territory.

Also utilized for food were píshta (wild plum) and tsanab[1] (a round fruit similar to the wild plum). These were gathered in the late summer wherever they were available in quantity.

272 Pleasant hot drinks were made from dútu (Mormon tea) and from tatsí tun'[a] (peppermint). These plants were dried and boiled to make a tea. The informants knew of no use for the manzanita berries.

222 After the sunflower seeds and the chokecherries were harvested the Wadátkuht would go after pine nuts (tubá mai, "pine nut go") in the vicinity of Virginia City, Nevada. By this time it was in the fall of the year. The pine nuts were gathered as quickly as possible so that the people could return home in time to gather acorns. A single family might gather about ten sacks of pine nuts in a season. The informants did not make it clear whether the Wadátkuht made this [177] trip for pine nuts before contact times or not. Since the distance is well over 100 miles one might guess that not until the introduction of the horse did the Wadátkuht utilize the pine nut to the extent indicated by the informants.

[252] Wild rose berries (tsiá bui) were eaten fresh when ripe and are said to "taste like persimmons".

[137] The most important single food plant product in the Wadátkuht territory was the acorn. The two major places for gathering acorns were in the timbered belt of oaks and pines between Buntingville and Milford and were called Wiuhpa woiyuad[a] and Wiuhpa mutsakian[o]. Acorns often could be gathered [251] in large enough quantities some years to last for two or three years. Excess acorns were stored in a pit dug into the ground and lined with oak leaves, pine needles, and similar material. The pit was covered over and the acorns were dug

Wadatkuht

342 [462] The men cut, gathered and erected the framework of the house while the women gathered the material for the covering and, "because they were lighter" the women climbed upon the frame to adjust the covering. Houses of this type "never leaked", and were made in Honey Lake Valley up to about 1920. The framework of just such a house is illustrated by Merriam (1955), Pl. 25). For a description of the manufacture of such a house see Wheat (1959).

The summer house, called haba, had four corner posts, a flat roof, and walls composed of untrimmed willow branches, tules, and similar brush. The flat roof was covered with tule matting. This type of house was still in use around 1920 in the Honey Lake region and has been illustrated by Merriam for the Pyramid Lake Paiute (Merriam, Pl. 26b).

345 At the winter village of Matá at Milford a circular, semi-subterranean earth-covered "sweat" (i.e., ceremonial) house was erected by captains Dick Wright and Joaquin. Kitty Joaquin was a child at that time and remembered it being used for dances, although she said she never was allowed to go to these functions. She would lie outside and listen to the activities going on inside. She also stated that this type of earth-covered house, called tipugon ("earth camp"), was used long before the arrival of the white people into their region. However, she said that the only Wadátkuht earth-covered house she ever saw was at Matá. It seems quite likely [177] that this winter structure is the central California type semi-subterranean earth-covered assembly house introduced to the Wadátkuht by the Mountain Maidu who also made such houses in their portion of the region. To support this is the fact that the excavated pit for the house at Matá is the only one known archaeologically or ethnographically for the Wadátkuht, or for the area claimed by them. Several such house pits, however, are recorded for the territory claimed by the Mountain Maidu.

342 [171] The concial bark house, apparently like those made by the Maidu, was occasionally used by the Wadátkuht, although Kitty Joaquin could not remember the name for this type of house. Her brother, Frank Joaquin, made and lived in such a house one time.

343 The Plains type sweat house was the only sweat house used by the Wadátkuht, and was called tupinabowgin. These houses were dome-shaped affairs with a willow frame with a diameter of from six to eight feet and a height of four to five feet.

343 Stones were heated outside and brought into the sweat house where water was sprinkled on them to produce steam. Presumably hides and/or tule matting were used as a covering for this type of structure. The frame of such a sweat house is shown in Plate 3-b.

In instances where tules were not available for house covering the Wadátkuht would use rye grass, especially in Secret Valley where tules were limited and rye grass more abundant. Tule-covered houses (type not specified by the informants) were called sainovi.

285 [177] Basketry. Kitty Joaquin made various types of basketry and would copy Maidu baskets if she happened to like them. Of the baskets in her possession only one had been made by by her. It was a large ovoid coiled laundry basket (Plate 5-b). Most of the other baskets had come from the Pyramid Lake area. Except for the Maidu influence it seems safe to say that the basket-making tradition of the Wadátkuht paralleled that of the Kuyuitkuht of Pyramid Lake.

[252] Chokecherries and other berries were crushed and strained through a basketry sieve called yuhtá, tsiku, or tsaiyun. The tsiku was properly a small, handled seed beater which was also used as a sieve. The yuhtá was a large sieve which had the same shape as twined winnowers, except for being constructed by the open twine method instead of close twine. The coiled, circular winnowing and parching tray was called tsamunt^{na}, being derived from the word munish, to turn over. The twined water bottle was called sioshá ("willow jug"), and the pine pitch with which it was covered was called tubásana. Gladys Mankins remarked how good the water tasted from these water bottles. The pitch gave the water a "peppery" taste.

The hopper basket used in conjunction with a mortar, so well known for the Pit River people, was called by the Wadátkuht tukádun ("to sit on something"), although they, the Paiute, did not use this type of basket. The conical, twined burden basket was called kawón.

[482] 352 177 The cradle board was called kwasúhup, or hup^{a}, (Plate 1-a). The hood for the cradle was called 'tsakono'^{o}', the bent frame at the head was tutásom, the tumpline was tainope (also heard as nanopé), to lace the cradle was túda. Kitty Joaquin's second son was carried in a Maidu type cradle of the "bling-shot" construction, i.e., one with a frame made from a forked

Wadátkuht

352 •177 branch. The Paiute type frame was of bent willow at both the top and the bottom. The advantage of the Maidu type was that the mother could push the point of the frame (at the bottom of the cradle) into the ground to allow the cradle and baby to stand upright. The remainder of her children were carried in the Paiute type cradle. The Maidu cradle was made for her by an old Maidu woman who gave it to her as a gift.

285 The term for making a basket was tugwísh; the term nutugwísh^{kwa} meant "I'm going to hook", that is, "I'm going to make a basket". The beginning of a basket was called nabitsiatum, the foundation was waha'^{u}, and the peeled willow splints used for the active element were piwung. The bone [413] awl used in the manufacture of coiled baskets was known as witu. Terms to differentiate the technique of coiling from that of twining were not obtained and were unknown by Gladys Mankins, who, incidentally, did not make baskets.

283 Rope, Mats and Nets. Information concerning rope and its manufacture by the Wadátkuht was scanty as the informants had not seen or made much native rope, cordage or string. [824] Most of the information was obtained from Susy Buster who stated that rope was called tugáp, and that it was made from [237] a variety of materials including horse hair, sagebrush bark, tule, and buckskin (presumably she had reference to rawhide). Three-strand twisted hair rope was rare and one rope is said to have lasted one a lifetime. She also stated that horse hair rope, with respect to diameter, was slightly bigger [492] around than her thumb. These ropes were considered as a part [525] of a horseman's gear and since they were a fancy item they were in demand as stakes in gambling.

Sagebrush bark rope could be three strand braid and could be used for snares. This braided bark rope was also used in conjunction with the antelope hunt described in a preceding section. Three strand sagebrush rope was also made by twisting the fibers in a clockwise direction in the same manner that a hair rope is twisted. It took two men to twist the hair rope since one man had to hold the three strands, but it took but one person to twist the bark rope. Further description by Susy Buster of the manufacture of the twisted sagebrush bark rope suggested that it was twisted on the thigh in a manner traditional to other Great Basin and Californian groups.

Concerning rope Kitty Joaquin stated that sagebrush bark

Wadátkuht

534 Kitty denied the use of the skin drum but came up with the name numútukwibuhn for it.

Cocoon rattles seem to have been known by the Wadátkuht and Kitty was familiar with the cocoons which were found on [237] greasewood. These cocoons were called tsu' uwp and were gathered in the fall of the year. The deer hoof rattle was called watsí bŏbŏ' and was made from the dew claws of deer. This type of rattle was used by the shaman and when he felt it becoming light it was a sign that he was becoming weak.

372 Fire. If possible, the fire was never allowed to go out. When a family had to leave for a short period, the fire was covered with dirt so that some glowing embers would remain on their return. Sagebrush bark could then be put on the embers and a fire built up again.

276 Tobacco. Tobacco was called huíba'mu and the pipe in which it was smoked to'ish. Kitty's father's father had a tubular pipe of oak with a stem of arrowcane. Tobacco was made by first drying the tobacco and then grinding it to a powder on the metate. It was mixed with the bark of some other plant which also was ground.

Honey Lake Valley was an important area of northern California for the procurement of tobacco. The entire mature plant was pulled up and hung for drying. However, the plants had to be gathered before the fall rains spoiled the tobacco.

231 Horses. Horses were called puku and were gotten from [439] the "Dow Eaters", a Paiute people living "toward the sun" (sic), seemingly the Bannock. They got them by trade or by stealing them. However, Susy knew of no Wadátkuht who had made a trip to the Bannock people.

[648] The Wadátkuht had horses before the white people arrived in their country, but both horses and cattle were stolen [492] from the pioneers. A buckskin saddle is reported by the informants to have been used when horseback riding.

[262] Horses were eaten by the Wadátkuht but a person was loath to eat his own horse. However, they had few inhibitions [291] when it came to eating another person's horse. Horsehide was used for the soles of moccasins, while tanned deer skin was used for the tops.

●[177] After the white people came to the country, horses were

more plentiful and wild horses were caught at Hot Springs Mountain northeast of Honey Lake.

Dogs. The name for this animal was sokopuk^{u}, "walking horse" (i.e., the animal could not be ridden). Even though dogs were scarce they were eaten during times of little food. However, a person always tried to eat someone else's dog rather than his own. The Wadátkuht did not ask their dogs questions because the dogs might answer them, thus turning the person to stone.

When Gladys was a very small girl she had a dog by the name of Aidzu na'^{a}', the meaning of which she did not know. Joaquin called his dog Ki maho, which meant "Come here!" The dog only understood when he was spoken to in the Paiute language, and could not "understand" English.

THE LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Information concerning the life of the individual in Wadátkuht society is presented in this section. The treatment here is by no means exhaustive, but is sufficient to provide some idea of the values and standards of these people.

Birth and Children. During pregnancy it was considered bad for a woman to watch someone butcher an animal because to do so might cause the baby to be in some way deformed. If a child were crippled, however, due to this or other causes, he was not illy treated.

Twins were rare and it was considered to be "terrible to have two children at once". The twins were not killed or mistreated, but were advised not to have children when they became adults.

A person was lefthanded because the umbilicus lay across the child's left shoulder when it was born. If a person knew what to do he would transfer the cord to the other side, but in doing so had to say something (a prayer or formula?).

People who were carried in a cradleboard as babies were likely to be straight-standing individuals all the remainder of their lives. Parents sometimes had difficulty with a child when it was being broken from being carried in the cradleboard. The child would often cry and fuss when it was

Wadátkuht

that she should not cry.

From Kitty's description of her ceremony it would seem that she was better oriented and more prepared psychologically for it than was Gladys. Kitty's moon-run lasted for a month while Gladys' lasted but ten days. Kitty was scrubbed with sagebrush at the end of the ceremony, but Gladys was scrubbed with wormwood. The use of wormwood seemingly is a Maidu trait and was probably due to the influence of Big Rosie, a Maidu, as she and Helen Joaquin were the "bosses" of Gladys' moon-run. Kitty always carried a stick to scratch herself with during the month of her puberty ceremony. She thought the stick was called nuh'zuh'wo'ina, "scratcher". It was not mentioned whether Gladys, too, used such a stick during the time of her ceremony.

When a girl terminated her puberty ceremony she was eligible to have her ears pierced. The ceremony for piercing ears was not like the moon-run as there was no running, only dancing and a "bigtime" in the evening.

When a girl got her ears pierced she ate alone, and was isolated. At night she danced and other people usually joined in. If they did not join in, the girl danced alone. One girl's moon-run lasted for three weeks and at her second menses had her ears pierced in a ceremony which lasted for a week.

Infant Mortality. Life for a baby or small child in camp held many dangers as illustrated by two incidents. Willie Joaquin, Kitty's little brother, died when he was quite small because he gulped hot acorn mush and burned himself so severly that he died from the effects. Gladys' brother Fred lost his life when he fell into the camp fire and was badly burned. He was about three years old when this occurred.

Introduced Diseases. Kitty's grandmother told her that when the white people came they brought sickness with them and many Indian people died because of it. Before the white people came there were no old people, everyone was young and there was little sickness. The name for small pox was tasi'yub^{a}, meaning "pitted".

Remedies. A number of plants were used for their medicinal properties but it was not always possible to make botanical collections of them; therefore the identifications are not complete.

Wada t Kuht

752 [278] roots were used to cure rattlesnake bite, or to reduce the swelling was pagákinup[a]. It was first cooked and then tied to the bite.

Joaquin got bitten on the foot by a rattler which was beneath a boat he was moving on the shore of Pyramid Lake. Two doctors, Tuna'[k]zua and her husband, tied his leg from above the knee down to the bite. A rope was simply wrapped around and around his leg. Holes were punched into his ankle with a knife and the doctors sang and tied pagákinup[a] to his leg at the bite. The woman doctor held his leg and "talked".

When Joaquin's family were crying because of his being bitten, the doctor told them to go out and wash their tears away with water and pray to the sun for his recovery. He did recover.

755 756 When a doctor became ill he doctored himself. Susy was a doctor, and in her last illnesses she apparently tried to make herself well, because Kitty saw her rattle on her bed. She said that if Susy had not been so weak and sick she would not have allowed any one to see her rattle. Doctors could tell when they were going to die because their rattle got progressively lighter in weight.

789 [825] [821] Weather Control. Ike said that rain could be produced by spitting on a marmot tail and then brushing one's hand down the tail as if to brush in the moisture. Wind was caused by whirling a bullroarer, or by lashing the air with a stick. Wind could also be made to blow through a gap in the Sierra, KukwaPta, if one knew the correct words.

821 Eclipse of the Sun. Once when the sun was eclipsed (tabatogano[b] - "sun dark") the people living at Mata built a fire. At this time both Kitty's grandmother and grandfather prayed. They talked to the sun, and no one was afraid because they had confidence in Kitty's grandfather. The people looked at the eclipse through smoked glass given them by some white people. [789] [177]

789 513 825 Sleeping Charm. If a person tied a marmot tail about his neck he would sleep very well, and would not wake easily. Ike's sister was a "crybaby" and would not sleep, so her mother took a marmot tail and hung it from the hood of the baby's cradleboard and the little girl slept well after that.

Wadatkuht

539 776 Black Jack until they were about one mile from Nixon. Bob told Black Jack to jump on behind the saddle and he would give him a ride the remainder of the way, but Black Jack said it was all right, that he could make it on in to Nixon. It is presumed that their point of departure was Gerlach, or vicinity, thus the distance traveled would have been greater than 60 miles.

Black Jack had antelope as his helper and never used a horse, but traveled on foot. He died about 1910 which indicates that he, too, may have been born around 1850.

Ike did not say whether Johnny Monday and Black Jack were Wadátkuht, or not, but it is likely that they were not. However, they were from a neighboring group of Paiute and their exploits could probably have been matched by the Wadátkuht.

212 Petroglyphs. The name for petroglyphs was túmadai, "magic", or "trick". Only certain people knew what they meant, and this was all the information that Kitty, her sisters Helen and Libby, Gladys, and Gladys' cousin, Dorothy, had on petroglyphs which are so numerous in the region about Honey Lake. Kitty and Gladys said, however, a more common name for petroglyphs was numutubon, "Indian writing". Susy said that petroglyphs were only known to those who put them on, and that snake elements were put on by those who had an [756] understanding of snakes. All this information suggests that [881] petroglyphs were made by shamans for purposes best known to themselves. There is no evidence that petroglyphs were in any way connected with the girls' puberty ceremonies.

SOCIAL LIFE

622 Headmen. Little information was obtained with respect to headmen despite the fact that Kitty's father, Joaquin, was the last headman of the Wadátkuht Paiute. Gladys stated that Dick Wright, Kukwhi, and Joaquin, Numúnana, were "captains" and both were considered to be leaders. Both lived at the same time and seem to have had an equal status within the group. They gave the necessary orders for the "big times", and according to Gladys, could have other people work for them to catch fish, hunt, build a house and similar work. They [692] also were called upon to settle disputes between people within [177] the band. The situation of having other people work for them as averred by Gladys, however, is likely to apply only to the

Wadátkuht

historic period and is a consequence of white contact (cf., Heizer, 1960, pp. 6-7). 622 [177] 421

Ownership of Gathering Places. The Wadátkuht, as stated elsewhere in this study, operated on the rule of first come, first served in hunting and gathering. If a family was picking an oak tree they were left alone, but there was no ownership of such things. Close relatives were first to be told of a fish run, or a bountiful acorn crop, so that they could share in the harvest. Even neighboring groups such as the Maidu might be invited to share in the yield. Tribal boundaries were recognized and before peaceful use of a neighboring group's area could be made, permission would have to be given. [648]

Inheritance. With respect to inheritance Gladys said that a man's oldest son was his first choice when he passed anything on. She went on to point out, however, that all the personal possessions of a person were buried with him, and in the old days a man's horse was even killed. 428 [764]

Doctoring tended to remain in families if the example of one family can be thought of as typical. The family in question is not Wadátkuht, although related to the Joaquin family. The woman who cured Joaquin from snake bite, Tsudi, in turn had a daughter who is currently becoming a doctor, apparently with her mother's dreams being wished to her. It will be recalled that Tuna'kzua's husband, also, was a doctor. [756]

Suicide. Suicide was called namagutumagua, and was most often accomplished by eating wild parsnips, hakinukpa. People also killed themselves by leaping from cliffs, riding a horse too fast, or by any other likely method. 762

One Pyramid Lake man, although too old for the army and not eligible, was afraid that he would be drafted. He did not want to kill anyone so decided to do away with himself. He went to a hill near Fort Sage (Herlong, California) and remained there until he died. His mother found his body several years after and identified him by the rifle found near his body.

One Wadátkuht man's wife although not Wadátkuht herself, was thrown out of the house by her husband and became so unhappy that she took some wild parsnip. She got violently ill and changed her mind only to be saved when Kitty got some cream for her to drink. [757]

Wadátkuht

762 Another Wadátkuht man was mean to his wife and beat her. As a consequence she became despondent and took wild parsnip to kill herself, but when her relatives found out what she had done Kitty was again called upon. She got the woman to [557] drink some cream and saved her life.

561 Status Terms. The following status terms were recorded: 192 baby, ohá; boy, nátzi; girl, tsia'; young man, tuibitsi; young woman, siadum; woman, mogut; old man, wa'its; old woman, biawuhb.

838 Transvestites. Men who would rather do women's work were considered to be "sissies" and were made to wear women's clothes until they could be more manly. They were despised by both men and women and did not marry. This judgment, [177] however, seems to be heavily colored by the more recent white standards.

648 Warfare. Susy told of a fight once between the Pit River people and the Paiute in the Susanville area (she firmly maintained that Susanville was in Wadátkuht territory, but she stands alone in this contention) that apparently occurred long before white occupation of the region. The Pit River [754] people had a doctor who sang a song to keep the Paiutes asleep in the early morning so that the attack could be made with safety. The doctor said, "Sleep, sleep, sleep, Paiute people sleep". The Paiutes were not caught asleep, however, and they repulsed the attack with a heavy loss to the Pit River attackers. One Pit River man was left alive so that he could carry the story back home and organize a revenge party. The Paiutes wanted this because they then could kill more Pit River people. In the last war party the Pit River people would send (just how the Paiutes would know it was to be the last party was not stated) the Paiutes would kill all the enemy. The Pit River people fight "because they are mean". Susy's father's father tied eagle feathers (possibly just one) in his hair for his power so that the arrows shot by the Pit River people would be ineffectual.

Ike and Kitty said that the Pit River Indians and the Paiutes fought a lot and the Paiutes finally got tired of being attacked and banded together and went to Big Valley, in Achomawi territory, and killed many Pit River people. This action stopped the Pit River raids. Some Bannock were said to have helped the Paiutes in this fight which took place before the white people came into the country. The fighting lasted for only about one and a half hours.

Wadatkuht

648 days were those ipdividuals who walked north to the Bannock
425 country and stole horses from them. One such man was Tusi o'oits, "Little Left", a small, left-handed Kɔ̀padkuht man from the vicinity of Buffalo Meadows (Tuhá tapi, "White Rock"), Nevada. He was also called Skeeter John and lived with the Wadátkuht at the Secret Valley village of Sigu patsóna.

Skeeter John, with three or four friends would go north until they located a large camp of many tepees of Bannock who were engaged in hunting buffalo. Early in the morning they would sneak up to where the Bannock horses were staked out and each of them would quietly take three or four apiece. On one of these raids a Paiute man even cut the rope that a sleeping Bannock man held which was tied to a horse he was supposed to be guarding. Such raids were usually made around two or three o'clock in the morning.

Horses were very scarce before the white people came. Those who did not steal horses from the Bannock would often get them by stealing them from Skeeter John and the other men who had taken the great risk of stealing them from the Bannock.

[177] From the stories told by Skeeter John to Ike it is
[492] apparent that the Plains influence was in the process of reaching the various groups of Paiutes, and that horse stealing was one such element. The use of a dog to carry packs is another item which indicates Plains influence, and the incident cited above is an example of how elements from one culture pass on to another.

727 The clearest and most detailed description of scalping
535 and the scalp dance was given by Susy who stated that no one was scalped "unless he was a very bad person". When a scalp was taken there was a "war dance", which was called tuwankut. The scalp was put on a pole and the man who took the scalp talked to it, saying, "Mihuitsaka'ɔ̈pɔ̈kama", meaning, "So that is how your blood tastes" (mi, "so"; huisaka', "that"; ɔ̈, "your"; pɔ̈, "blood"; kamá, "taste"). This was repeated about three times as the man sang. He said this as he bit the air below the scalp in the area where the slain man's neck would have been. The scalp was not bitten, only the presumed neck area of the victim. Everyone else was in a circle about the pole, each with a handful of brush which he moved up and down in front of his body as he danced.

Wadatkuht

Cursing. When a person was exceedingly upset by another and felt called upon to use strong language to him he might say, "Stuhyuhŏ","Bad you are". This was a strong thing to say to another person, but if emphasis was needed one could say, "Stuhyuh hiyuŏ", "Bad you very are". This latter statement was about as strong as a person could go verbally. These terms were considered to be "very mean things to say". 195 578

CEREMONIES

Limited information was obtained concerning the Wadátkuht ceremonial life, and the girls' puberty ceremony already has been described earlier. The "war dance" also has been noted. 796 535

In recent years the annual Bear Dance has been of considerable importance to Kitty as she was its local sponsor. There seems to be little doubt in anyone's mind, either Maidu or Paiute, that it is a Maidu ceremony. Other dance information given by the informants are names only, and include the Antelope Dance, Eagle Dance, Sun Dance and the Rabbit Dance. The latter was given on a festive day in the winter when rabbits were caught in a drive, and was a round dance. The informants admitted that most of the dances they could name were those given by the Shoshone. [177]

GAMES AND GAMBLING

In the excavation of Tommy Tucker Cave (cf., Fenenga and Riddell, 1949) numerous sharp-pointed twigs were found. When these twigs were described to one of Kitty's sons he said that they were probably used in the dice game called Wokókob tatsung in. Wokókob was the name for arrowcane (Phragmites communis) and tatsung in was the name for the dice, or "cards". This game was usually played by two men. A surface was prepared on the level ground by wetting the clay-like soil and patting it until it was smooth and hard. A semi-circle of sharp-pointed (?) sticks were then thrust into the ground about the playing surface. The dice were of arrowcane sections from eight to ten inches long split lengthwise. The concave surface of these dice was painted red but the rounded surface was in no way modified. The first player took the dice, eight in number, and threw them into the center of the playing area in such a manner that the dice tended to stand on end for a short interval before falling. The red surfaces gave the player his points. Each 525 [172]

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20
Northern Paiute NR13

DIFFERENTIAL RESPONSE TO WHITE CONTACT: PAIUTE AND WASHO[1]

by James F. Downs

N W 121

The purpose of this paper is to examine the marked difference in response to white contact displayed by two groups of American Indians, the Washo of western Nevada and eastern California and the Northern Paiute of western Nevada. The groups will be analyzed in a somewhat broader temporal framework than is common in acculturation studies, with historical and environmental factors as the primary considerations.

N W 121 182

It is fruitful to view social organization on the primitive level characteristic of the Washo and Northern Paiute as a technological adaptation, i. e., a method of obtaining subsistence. On a higher level, an advanced technology may be substituted for social organization in the subsistence struggle, and social structure might then be analyzed as an adjustment to the technology. This appears to be what has happened in Nevada. Indian social structure seems closely tied to the actual ecological relationships of man to environment; the white population, on the other hand, exhibits social structural elements that are related not to the immediate environment but to the technologic and economic system the white man has brought to the area.

N W 121

One of the reasons for the above suggestion is that in an examination of the Washo and Paiute situations the social structures of the two groups do not appear to be significantly different. Certainly the difference between Washo society and Paiute society was no greater than the differences among various Paiute groups (Steward, 1938, 230-60; Stewart, 1941, 406-7). If we can consider the social structural variations as constant, it may be possible to find significant differences between the two groups in an examination of their history and ecology.

N W 121 177

The major thesis guiding the present discussion is that the differences in response of Washo and Paiute to contact are a result of their occupation of what had been two distinct ecological areas. These two groups developed different relationships with surrounding peoples and different orientations toward subsistence activity, which were observable when the white man's entry into Nevada altered the environmental situation.

The Aboriginal Situation: The Paiute

At the time of first contact the subsistence activities of the Paiute were based on an exploitation of a none-too-provident environment. The small groups of Paiute who lived together -- with the exception of those occupying the fertile Owens Valley -- appear to have been on the move almost constantly. Harvests of seed had to be made within a few days or weeks at the most, before the ripened seeds were scattered on the ground. Roots, berries, rodents, snakes, fish and insects were sought. Of primary importance were the pinenuts of the mountain areas. These provided a major source of food for survival through the winter. A general survey of foods available suggests that the area could support a larger number of people than it actually did (Steward, 1938, 14-33). Population figures show a high density in the Owens Valley (2.1 sq. mi. per person) to a low at Beatty (44 sq. mi. per person). In the area immediately to the north of Washo country -- called vaguely the Humboldt River country, in which the Carson Sink, Pyramid Lake and Humboldt Lake are located -- density ranged from 2.5 sq. mi. per person at Battle Mountain to 5 sq. mi. per person at Halleck and Wells (Steward, 1938, 48-9). The sporadic rainfall of the area was a limiting factor, often failing completely and reducing plant harvests, so that population appears to have been geared to the minimum rather than the maximum food supply.

I have included rodents, fish and insects under the gathering aspects of Paiute life. The pronghorn antelope, the jack rabbit, the mule deer and mountain sheep were the animals most frequently hunted. The first two species appear to have been hunted largely in communal drives. The mule deer was hunted occasionally by groups who drove the animals into ambush or over cliffs (Stewart, 1941, 366, 422). Dogs were used by some bands to aid in deer hunting (Stewart, 1941, 422). Deer were also hunted by individuals or small groups of stalkers, a method that appears to have been the only one used to take mountain sheep where these animals were available.

Rabbits were perhaps the most important hunted species because of their relative abundance. Antelope herds were almost totally depleted by a single drive and could not be hunted in the same area for a number of years. The antelope and rabbit were significant in terms of social organization because the communal hunts were among the few occasions when any large number of Paiute assembled in the same place. This, however, was limited by the period of time the captured game could support a large group of people.

In general the ecological adaptation of the Paiute was one of small groups of people shifting within relatively wide areas in response to the appearance of various wild crops and animals. The pinenut appears to have

N W 182 To anyone familiar with the Washo territory as contrasted to the area occupied by the Paiute it would seem logical to postulate differences between these groups in terms of different environments at the time of contact. However, if we examine the environments of these two groups in terms of what Steward has called significant ecological factors (Steward, 1955, 30-42) it becomes clear that the differences are in degree rather than kind.

W 136 182 262 Hall (1946, 44) points out that the area occupied by the Washo contains 12 species of mammals not found elsewhere in Nevada. These include a species of shrew, the marten, the mountain beaver, the snowshoe rabbit, the Douglas squirrel and the black bear. The shrew, marten and mountain beaver were of little or no importance as food animals, and the marten was considered desirable only for its fur. The snowshoe rabbit was taken occasionally when encountered, as was the Douglas squirrel. It should be pointed out that there were other species of rabbit and many species of squirrel distributed throughout the Basin which served as food resources. The bear, despite its size, [825] [771] had little or no importance in the economic life of the Washo. Its religious significance was high, and bear hunts were important in attaining social status, but its flesh was eaten only in cases of extreme hardship.

Mule deer, pronghorn antelope, mountain sheep, jack rabbit, gophers and ground squirrels -- all important food sources -- were distributed throughout the Washo and Paiute areas in Nevada. Waterfowl and fish were found wherever sinks, lakes and watercourses existed. It appears that the Washo area was distinguished from the remainder of the territory by a greater concentration of these various food sources. However, this concentration was [361] not so plentiful as to permit long term sedentary village life or the permanent organization of large political groups. Moreover, there were within the Washo area no animals or plants whose taking required social or technological organization different from that of the Paiute.

W N 171 [114] An examination of the culture element lists prepared by Stewart (1941) shows that the Washo shared many traits with Paiute bands. In fact, the Washo often shared traits with some Paiute groups, which informants from other Paiute groups denied, suggesting that variation among various Paiute groups was as great as that between the Washo and the Paiute as wholes. My own field work tends to show even more similarity in the area of political organization than is revealed by Stewart, with a number of traits admitted by my informants which are denied in his work (Stewart, 1941, 406-7). Differences that do exist seem to be in large part attributable to influence on the Washo from California and influence on the Paiute from the north and east, [177] or south and east (see also Heizer and Elsasser, 1953, 4 and Spier, 1928, 1929 on Basin relationships).

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4.5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20
Northern Paiute NR13 ●

W
N
175
● 177
648

Contact and Occupation

The initial contacts between white men and the Indians of western Nevada were sporadic and appear to have had little effect on the culture of the indigenous peoples.

To what extent either the Paiute or the Washo were aware of white men prior to first contact is unclear. It seems highly probable that the Washo had experienced some effects from the Spanish colonization of California. Certainly trips to the coast for shellfish were fraught with more uncertainty once the Spanish began forcible collection of Indians for missionization. One suspects that in the period immediately preceding direct white contact, groups such as the Ute may have been active in the Basin, taking slaves for the Spanish in the Southwest, which might have contributed to the initial shyness of Basin groups when confronted with white men.

From the 1820's until the 1840's a number of expeditions -- mainly fur hunters exploring new territory or on their way to winter in California -- entered western Nevada. According to Steward (1938, 6) Ogden probably visited the Humboldt River area between 1826 and 1828. The famous mountain man Jedediah Smith crossed Nevada in 1825. Bonneville pushed as far as Pyramid Lake in 1833, and Walker was in that portion of Nevada by 1833 (Steward, 1938, 6). If we are to judge from the nearly complete lack of information, these people had little or no contact with the Indians of the area.

Even in later peiods the Indians of the Basin were given little attention by travelers. Nearly naked, digging for roots, often starving in the winter, with no shelter save brush houses and with almost no tools or accoutrements, they were contemptuously lumped together as "Diggers" and ignored. Early writers, travelers and officials tended to distinguish between those Indians who rode horses and those who didn't, the former being "Snakes" or "Shoshonis," and the latter "Diggers." Upon reading the descriptions of the condition of these peoples one is led to suspect that at least some of the anthropological thinking about the Basin has been colored by a second-hand ethnocentrism. Early writers simply concluded that anyone willing to eat grubs, snakes, grasshoppers and roots must indeed be in the last extremities.

The 1840's mark a second and different phase of white-Indian contact in this area. Immigration into the west began to increase, and the route down the Humboldt and over the Sierras in the vicinity of Walker Pass, and occasionally Donner Pass, brought a number of trains directly through the territory of the Washo and the Paiute.

Two reactions appear common to both groups. One is avoidance; Washo tradition tells of watching wagon trains from hiding. Similar evidence from the Paiute supports the notion that they too were unwilling to associate with the travelers.

The second aspect of contact behavior was that of exploitation. The Paiute and Shoshoni in particular found wagon train livestock excellent sources of food. A hidden hunter would shoot several arrows into a straggling horse or cow and flee before he was located by the white men. After waiting until the white men were well out of the area the Indians would descend on the wounded animal, which, of course, had to be left by the travelers.[2] The Washo report that their first view of a cow was when they found one strayed from a wagon train. They packed the animal, rode it, generally examined it, and eventually killed and ate it. This suggests that the Washo had been watching passing wagon trains or had in other ways learned about riding and packing (Lowie, 1939, 302).

The 1850's marked still another phase of the contact situation, that of permanent occupation. The wagon routes provided incentive to establish posts in eastern Nevada, and one was set up in Eagle Valley in the 1850's. Prior to 1852 a man named Clark had set up a ranch in Carson Valley. This he abandoned in fear after he killed an Indian, probably a Washo. In 1853 another family occupied the Clark Ranch. When a group of Indians -- again apparently Washo -- appeared demanding food, the householder shot one of their number (Angel, 1958, 145-9). I am inclined to think that the hostile intent of the Indians was small and that they were begging food in a manner that became common in later years. This suggests that the Indians viewed the apparently bountiful supplies of the white man as simply another source to be exploited by gathering (i. e., begging). In addition it reveals a distinct conflict in cultural attitudes. Sharing among these peoples was a common characteristic. It appears that in hard times there was no obligation to feed a visitor, but asking for food was certainly not considered a violation of norms.

Between 1849 and 1851 Mormon colonists, sent out from Utah, established an agricultural community at Genoa. It appears that during this period Washo Indians established settlements around white habitations, utilizing the trash heaps as a source of food and building materials, and receiving handouts in return for odd jobs. An important unanswered question is whether the population of these settlements was permanent. I suspect that although the settlements remained at approximately the same population level there was a great deal of moving in and out by individual families going to other parts of Washo territory to hunt or gather. Estimates of Washo population appear to have been generally very low and often based on the

2. I am indebted to Professor R. F. Murphy for information concerning Basin Indian "hunting" of wagon train stock (see also Angel, 1958, 145-9).

W
175
177
648
361
[161]

number of people living in these settlements (Mooney, 1896; Kroeber, 1925). It is at least possible that a great many Washo lived in the mountains and other areas not generally visited by white men and went unnoticed.

N
W
175
177
648

The year 1857 marks the discovery of the Comstock Lode and a dramatic change in the history of Nevada and of the indigenous populations. The primary activity of the white man shifted from a rather casual form of frontier pastoralism to an intensive exploitation of the mountains for silver and gold. Mining and the servicing of mining populations became the primary occupation. The flamboyant history of the Comstock has overshadowed the other activities of white men in the area at the time. Perhaps of equal importance to the study at hand is the rapid increase of stock raising.

Angel (1958, 67) reports that 10,000 head of cattle, horses and hogs were pastured in the general western Nevada area in 1860. The poor condition of the animals and the number of carcasses seen on the range is mentioned. This would suggest that the range was subjected to rather serious overgrazing, which must have depleted the grass and brush seed food sources of the Indians, as had Mormon ranching in Utah (Steward, 1938, 14). It is probable that the Paiute suffered more from this than did the Washo.

The Humboldt and Pyramid Lake region lies largely in the Artemisian life zone, which is characterized by xerophytic plants and few grasses or other possible food sources except after relatively heavy rains, or along the margins of watercourses and lakes. Since there are three large bodies of water and three rivers in the area we can assume that the Indians drew much of their sustenance from the edges of the water. Cattle would, of course, seek out the same areas and drastically reduce the supply. Moreover, Indians report that many areas now covered with useless plants were grasslands prior to the introduction of cattle or other livestock (Steward, 1938, 17). Even light grazing in such an area would seriously deplete, if not totally destroy, the food sources of the area. It is obvious that Indians occupying the area during their annual food circuit would be forced to move or make adjustments to the changed conditions. Judging from the population density figures for this area, the migration cycle may not have been too extensive, centering around the three lakes and the river banks, and shifting markedly only in the fall for pinenut harvests. The sudden introduction of cattle would have seriously upset the ecology. It is significant that the Paiute of this area were among the first to begin raiding white herds and habitations.

W
[197]

The Washo, on the other hand, lived in a territory that comprised four life zones, Alpine, Aspen, Pinyon and Artemisian. A depletion in the Artemisian zone due to grazing might be partially compensated by greater dependence on other life zone sources and by utilization of white settlements as a food source,

as a food source. It is possible that the Washo did not rely as much on the Artemisian sources and therefore were not as seriously discomforted by cattle grazing as were the Paiutes. It is during this early period of white intrusion that we see Paiutes also becoming hangers-on around white settlements and becoming dependents of individual white ranchers (Steward, 1938, 8).

The above-described alteration of the environment is significant in terms of differential response because it operated fairly uniformly on all the Washo, while Paiutes began to experience inequalities of opportunity in various bands. This, we might postulate, could have led to new band alignments among the Paiutes as families left bands in depleted areas to join bands in more provident areas. Secondly it might lead to interband friction if entire bands attempted to operate as entities in areas where others had habitually gathered and hunted.

This period marks the first distinct differences in response to white occupation between the two groups.

The Washo apparently continued in the same patterns that they had earlier. Numbers of Washo gradually drifted into the Indian towns on the outskirts of white settlements. Others, in bands, began to reside more or less permanently on ranches, becoming dependents of individual white ranchers. In return for odd jobs and, perhaps, as a bribe to prevent theft, the Indians received handouts. Their hunting activities were appreciated by whites because they helped reduce the wild animal competition with domestic animals for grazing. An additional factor may also have been that a band of Indians made women available to cowboys and ranch hands, an important element in a woman-short frontier area.

Property lines, railroads and lumber flumes interrupted the migration trails of the Washo, upsetting the traditional band-land relationship. Although gathering and hunting continued, it appears to have lost its quality of organizing Washo life.

In the bands that squatted on the property of ranchers, women appear to have become the foci of social organization. This is probably because they were able to earn money as housekeepers, kitchen help and casual prostitutes while remaining with the family unit, but men were forced to leave the family to earn money in seasonal farm labor, lumbering, woodchopping, construction, hunting and fishing.

The 1850's mark the beginning of Paiute hostility toward the white man. Bands of mounted Paiute under the leadership of war chiefs began raiding herds, attacking outlying ranches and harassing wagon trains.

Northern Paiute NA13

175 The history of the Paiute War of 1858 as presented in Angel (1958)
648 gives some significant information about the earliest stages of this development of hostility as a response to white contact. The first raids on white horse herds and ranches appear to have been conducted by Shoshoni, part-Shoshoni or Bannock visitors among the Pyramid Lake Paiute. These interlopers were aided by a number of Paiute men but the general Paiute reaction was to make every effort to stop the raids in order to avoid trouble with the white men, the Paiutes having already learned that disputes among whites as well as between whites and Indians often led to gunplay and bloodshed. In at least one case the Paiutes murdered a Shoshoni who refused to stop his raiding (Angel, 1958, 150).

However, the fat was in the fire after the early raids and any missing stock, whether strayed, taken by a white man or a single Indian, or actually lost to a raiding party, was credited to the Indians and punitive action was taken. Armed posses raided Indian camps in retaliation for real and fancied wrongs. The Indians began to reply in kind, and the skirmishing hostility [621] developed into full scale war. The formation of war bands among the Paiute [178] led to increased band size, the development of leaders with real authority and at least some interband rivalry. Definite territories became associated [423] with particular bands and real band identity developed (Steward, 1938, 249; Stewart, 1941).

In 1858 a volunteer regiment of miners, ranchers and citizens of the various settlements mounted an expedition against the Paiute and, as is often the case with volunteer regiments, was soundly defeated. In 1870 the Paiute were finally defeated and contained on reservations by federal troops.

● 177 Julian Steward (1938, 1955) has postulated that the introduction of the
114 horse was largely responsible for the formation of what he has called com-
231 posite raiding bands from a society formerly organized in bilateral hunting
178 groups. Although the horse certainly played an important role in this develop-
621 ment, Steward's theory leaves a number of questions unanswered. Foremost is the question of why a similar pattern failed to develop among the similarly organized Washo confronted with almost identical situations. This question is intensified when we realize that the hunting and gathering Pit River people did not adopt the horse ("because they were afraid of horses") until the late 1860's although the animal was available (de Angulo, 1950, 331). Thus, of the tribes that confronted the white man in western Nevada and eastern California, only the Paiute adopted the horse and reorganized their society into war-oriented bands.

This fact is significant in theoretical terms and equally significant in explaining the course of acculturation in this area in the period after 1870.

N W 136 174 182 114

Zoological evidence tends to corroborate such secondary evidence as geographic locations with "buffalo" names and the traditions reported by Indian informants (Steward, 1938, 14).

Roe (1951, 282) felt the evidence did not justify establishing the western range of the bison in California. However, it would seem his caution is no longer called for in view of Riddell's information. Haines (1940) argues that the bison was not present in California and far western Nevada, but in light of later evidence and because of the limitations of his own argument it seems justifiable to discount his position. Haines accepted only historic documentation and discounted the opinions of zoologists and naturalists as well as some admittedly scanty but nonetheless real ethnographic suggestions. Having found no documentation, he was then forced to explain away Indian tradition and the existence of bison skulls. This he did with two separate and contrived suppositions (Haines, 1940, 397-8). Not only does he convert negative evidence into positive evidence, he attempts to explain away existing positive evidence in order to support assumptions based on negative evidence. Considering the nature of the evidence available it would seem that the only truly valid argument against bisons existing in the area would be one put forth by a biologist that it was impossible on ecological grounds for bison to have existed there. To my knowledge no such argument has been advanced. Thus it would seem, after an examination of the existing positive evidence, drawn from history, zoology, archeology and ethnography, that it was highly probable that the bison ranged from northwestern Utah to northeastern California down to 40° N latitude in comparatively recent times.

N 224 182

If we add the bison to the ecological picture previously painted for the Paiute we can postulate a far more rewarding subsistence level than was known in post-Caucasian times. The pursuit of buffalo, and the common patterns of gathering suggest that the relationships of the Shoshonean-speaking peoples were closely connected to their common ecology. However, by perhaps 1800 or shortly afterward the bison had disappeared from Nevada except possibly for small groups. This disappearance created an area of ecological imbalance in the southern portion of what had been the bison range. The Paiutes of this area were forced to seek alternatives to the buffalo and were probably oriented in the direction the buffalo had retreated. This may explain in part why the numerically inferior Washo were able to maintain themselves surrounded by the Paiute. The points of friction in the Pine Nut Mountains seem to be the only evidence of Paiute attempts to encroach on Washo subsistence save for occasional hunting and fishing forays into the Sierras.

N W [618]

N 231 177

The introduction of the horse into the Basin in the late 18th century, through the agency of Comanche-Shoshoni trade (Ewers, 1954, 11) gave the

northern Basin people an ecological alternative on one hand and increased the destruction of buffalo west of the Rockies on the other. Thus the horse-owning Shoshoni and Bannock pursued the bison across the divide and adapted to a life as mounted nomadic buffalo hunters. The colorful and dramatic population in the Plains may have obscured the relationships maintained between these groups and the "miserable Diggers" of the Basin. One must remember, however, that although buffalo were plentiful on the Plains the area was sparse in other food sources. The Basin offered a far wider variety of plant foods and fish as well as small game.

There is ample evidence that the Shoshoni, particularly as people armed with guns entered the Plains, were forced to move westward, and spend at least part of the year in a modified Basin existence. However, these people were essentially Plains Indians in attitude and had developed the war complex, with its emphasis on personal glory, coup counting and horse raiding as well as the larger band organization needed to support military activity of this nature. For whatever reason individual Plains Indians found themselves in northern Nevada it seems completely logical that they would go on acting like Plains Indians. There were no bison to hunt, but cattle ranged widely and there were many horse herds owned by whites. Such people were probably high prestige figures among the Paiute, who were suffering from want and were without large numbers of horses. The behavior of these visitors served as a model of alternative behavior for Paiutes, who had in fact been seeking alternatives since the disappearance of the bison.

This behavior, however, presented a different picture to the white man than had the inoffensive scavenging and begging and pilfering of the pre-raiding band days. Large bands of Indians riding down on ranches, harassing wagon trains, waylaying travelers and running off stock could be viewed only as enemies. Enemies were met with force and, once defeated, were contained on reservations.

The White Man: Culture without Society

In discussing Paiute and Washo we have spoken of two social systems bearing distinct yet generally similar culture, and in examining the changes that took place among these peoples we have discussed both cultural and social changes. However, in speaking of the white men who entered western Nevada in the first half of the 19th century it seems that we cannot meaningfully speak of white society and its impact on the culture or society of the Indians. Certainly Jedediah Smith and Zenas Leonard were not extensions of American society nor were the hordes of rootless fortune-seekers who entered the

W
N
175
1777
648

country after the discovery of the Comstock Lode. Essentially these people were social fragments bearing the ideational systems of American culture. American society as a real entity ended roughly at the Mississippi River. Needless to say, these men did not exist outside the social level of human experience but formed small, often short-lived, social systems to meet the exigencies of frontier life or, as did many of the mountain men, they joined existing Indian societies. The important issue is that the culture borne by these intruders set the pattern of their social organization. When social groups formed they were created along lines directed by American norms but those lines were adjusted to fit the situation as it existed in western Nevada and were a far cry from the social lines drawn in New England or Ohio. Illustrative of the above argument is the behavior of the volunteer regiment called up by Nevada to fight the Paiute. The organization was formed of companies drawn from the various settlements in the area. In keeping with American volunteer military tradition of the 19th century each company elected its own officers. However, so fiercely did each settlement prize its independent existence that the entire regiment refused to elect a colonel and marched to war without a leader, a loose alliance of the military elements of a number of small "societies" (Angel, 1958, 153). One might suggest that the acceptance of federal troops as an agent of defense against Indians marks the inclusion of a frontier settlement in the broader framework of American society from the position of a culture-sharing social isolate. Thus, in these crucial years of white-Indian contact, what was affecting Indians was not white or American society but American culture as brought west in the minds of fur trappers, ranchers, farmers and gold seekers. This argument becomes significant if we continue our attempt to relate the behavior of the Washo and Paiute to explain the differences in white response.

W
175
648

The Washo failed to take hostile action in any concerted form against the white man and are said to have voluntarily turned in their weapons during the Paiute wars to avoid being mistaken for hostiles. Others of the Washo joined the white forces as scouts. This alliance was in part a result of the Washo's -- as well as the whites' -- having suffered raids by mounted Paiutes (d'Azevedo, personal communication).

The white response to this behavior is of two sorts. First, because they were not a threat and continued to live in the manner to which the whites were accustomed to seeing them -- as dependents and squatters, day laborers and root diggers -- there appears to have been no development of a white consciousness of the Washo as a tribe or any kind of a real social unit. They were simply "Indians." A second type of reaction was that of despising Washo because they had not fought. Here we see a culturally determined attitude. Although Paiutes fought and killed white men they were responding in a way the white men felt they would act themselves. The Washo, because

they did not resist white intrusion, were viewed as less than people, cowardly, without pride and unworthy of consideration. Because the Washo failed to demonstrate their unity as a people by military action they were not considered a unit, and it was not until the last decade of the 19th century that land allotments were made for them. W 175 648

The foregoing discussion of differential responses on the part of the Indians and on the part of white men toward Indians explains in large part the differences in acculturation subsequent to 1870 when the war-like Paiute were contained on reservations. N 175 177 648

As has been pointed out, the Paiute-Plains Indian relationships may well be due to the subsistence activities the two groups had shared in the past. The relationships as of 1858 served to give the Paiute a model of alternative behavior toward the white man, a model based on Plains Indian values and attitudes.

The Washo, however, lived almost entirely outside the buffalo territory. One suspects from this situation that the environment of their area was one that had never included food sources besides those present at the time of contact. We might then say that the Washo were in ecological balance. They did not consciously or unconsciously turn toward peoples with a markedly different ecological adaptation as models of alternative behavior. This is one way of saying that the Paiute were ecologically oriented toward the north and east, and the Washo were ecologically oriented toward the west. Gathering may have been better in California and game animals more plentiful, but essentially the subsistence patterns were much the same as those of the Washo. Thus Washo peoples felt little or no influence from the Plains groups. They continued to look at the horse and cow as food animals to be eaten when possible, but saw no advantage in adopting the horse. The Washo did not totally reject the horse but accepted it only as a convenience in transportation. Many Washo eventually owned wagons and teams and rode horses but used them only within the framework of aboriginal Washo culture patterns and developed neither a new way of life based on the horse nor new values that they attached to the horse. (For a more detailed discussion of Washo response to animal husbandry and agriculture see Downs, 1961a.) N W 177 182 22

In the years subsequent to 1870 the Paiute response pattern continued to be colorful, and in many ways, effective. In the early 1870's the first Ghost Dance was initiated at Mason Valley (Gayton, 1930, 57). This early movement elicited no interest among the Plains tribes or the Washo but was adopted by the seriously disorganized California groups. Shortly after this development the Paiute began to farm both on the reservation and off. A second nativistic movement, originated under Jack Wilson at Walker Lake in N 175 177 648 668

Northern Paiute NRI3

N 175 177 1890, was joined by the Basin and Plains tribes until the bloody termination 648 of the Ghost Dance at Wounded Knee Creek. At this time, according to 668 Mooney (1896), the Paiute were still living in brush houses with very few items of white material culture except metal pots, guns and factory clothes. W [668] However, they had adopted both livestock-keeping and farming. The Washo once again rejected the Ghost Dance and only a few individuals joined Paiute groups.

W 177 182 648 This double rejection of nativistic movements suggests that although the Washo were often considered an almost extinct fragment of an Indian tribe, hanging around the edges of white towns, they may in fact have made what was in individual terms an adequate adjustment to white intrusion. This adjustment, rather than taking the line of changing orientations displayed by the Paiute appears to have been of a continuous attempt to take advantage of the new situation in terms of the old patterns. The white man, I suggest, became another item of the environment which could be exploited. However, in order to carry out this kind of exploitation the old band-land relationship was gradually abandoned and with it any real behavioral evidence of social unity. Working for the white man was an individual activity carried out without reference to the band. Gathering in the areas where native foods remained became a competitive enterprise rather than one in which an entire band could take part. The demands of white employers and the restrictions placed on travel by barbed wire, private property and American concepts of trespass disrupted the old cycle of movement and increased the fragmentation of Washo society.

W [622] [666] Only once, in the early 1900's when the pinenut range was threatened, the Washo were able to achieve enough unity to select a tribal chief to represent them. However, at his death the Washo were never able to agree on another chief. Modern field workers agree that the Washo appear to be singularly unable to agree on any unified action. Even the tribal council and other such modern innovations appear to be more focal points of suspicion and disunity than elements of cohesion.

W 177 648 The Washo attitude toward the white man still seems to be one of avoidance and repressed hostility. In return, the white man treats the Washo as a nuisance and an outcast. This is in marked contrast to the attitude toward the Paiute, which is one of relative admiration for Indians who conform to the accepted and romanticized view of Indian behavior.

N 177 178 619 621 The Paiute direction of change appears to have been two-fold. A greater tribal identity appears to have developed, partially because of the war bands and partially because of the reservation situation, which encouraged the Indians to live and act as a unit with responsible leaders. This increased identity has accompanied a continued political unification locally

9. d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20
Northern Paiute NR13

among the Paiute. At the same time there has been an acceptance of white culture in terms of agriculture and livestock-keeping which has placed the Paiute within the American economic system as an identifiable ethnic group. It is interesting, however, to note that the identification with Indians and as Indians, among the Paiute, has resulted in the retention of very little from aboriginal Paiute culture but instead has been marked by a gradual acceptance of more and more of Plains culture, including dances, chiefs and war bonnets (Steward, 1933, plates). This Plains influence may in part explain the tendency toward the development of political organization among the Paiute. The first war leaders, the Shoshoni, were men of prestige: thus, traits they introduced were accepted readily by the Paiute. A corollary of this was the acceptance of the idea that chiefs were men of prestige per se so that even the peace chiefs, i.e., leaders of the anti-war factions who were influential in postwar Paiute life, served as prestigeful culture-bearers. Among the Washo, however, the various "captains" utilized by the whites as points of communication with the Indians appear to have been largely without prestige or particular status among their own people. As these men often took on airs, came to believe their own importance and began to call themselves "chief" the Washo tended to look on them as buffoons or worse and tended to reject any attempt to introduce new ideas through such men.

N 177 178 619 621 N 177 62 554 W 177 554 622

In contrast to Paiute Indian identification, there appears to be among the Washo a reluctance to admit to Indian practices and values. Although there is a relatively high degree of use of aboriginal foods the Washo tend to deny this and often refuse to admit they like or ever eat such foods. Bedrock mortars are often located under brush to escape white notice.

W 177 178

Summary and Conclusions

N W 105

This paper has attempted to describe the pre-contact situation and post-contact developments in western Nevada. We have seen that at the time of the entry of white men into this area the indigenous population was composed of two major groups, the northern Paiute and the Washo. As we have seen, these two peoples had made generally similar ecological adjustments, depending on hunting and gathering for subsistence. Culturally the Washo appear to share a number of traits with California tribes and seem to be more oriented toward the west than were the Paiute. Socially the two groups were organized in roughly the same manner: independent families operating together in small, loosely structured bands under headmen who were largely without power. Authority roles, such as antelope shaman and rabbit boss, were short lived and functionally specific. Communal hunts provided a basis for the amalgamation of a number of bands for short periods. Large supplies

N W 105 of plant food such as the pinenut also provided a basis for the coming together of large numbers but without the creation of special leaders.

N 105 The entry of white men was met in much the same manner by the two groups: avoidance on one hand and an attempt to exploit on the other. In the 1850's the Paiute developed a new social structure, based on the horse, and 177 territorially oriented mounted war bands began attacking the white man. This 178 hostile activity went on until 1870 when the Paiute were finally defeated and 648 contained on reservations. After a short-lived nativistic revival the Paiute, on and off reservations, began to farm and raise livestock. Another nativistic revival occurred in 1890 and spread throughout the Plains tribes. Since that time the Paiute have continued to develop as farmers and ranchers, rather rapidly abandoning many Indian practices. On the other hand they have retained a strong indentification as Indians and tend to emphasize the more colorful aspects of being Indians through the retention of dances and ceremonies, many of them of Plains inspiration. The relation of the Paiute to the white man has been largely friendly since the cessation of hostilities and the Paiute is generally tolerated, and a few exceptional individuals respected by the whites in Nevada. There has been a steady increase in the degree of tribal political organization over the entire period of contact.

W 105 The Washo appear to have attempted to continue the first response pattern with only a shift in emphasis during the past quarter century. Avoid- 177 ance and exploitation have gradually given way to dependence, economic in- 178 volvement and segregation of the Washo. The aboriginal band-land relation- 648 ship broke down, but attempts to maintain modified bands as squatters on individual ranches continued until the 1920's. Hunting and gathering continued and still goes on. However, tribal organization, however slight it may have been, seems to have been lost. The failure of the Washo to unite against the white man seems to have resulted in the latter's failure to take notice of the Washo as a group. Since the reservation system was never instituted for the Washo, they remained squatters until the early 1900's and then were assigned scattered allotment lands. The attempt to adjust individually to the new situation appears to have led to a general fragmentation of Washo society. Certain ceremonies and shared cultural values identify Washo but a high degree of suspicion and disunity are characteristic of the group. Factions spring up W [106] over every issue: how to deal with the white man, the creation of a tribal council or a Peyotist movement. There is a general tendency to attempt to hide or deny specifically Indian traits. In general the relation of the Washo to the white man is that of avoidance wherever possible, and of ill concealed hostility and suspicion on both sides of the fence.

N W 105 177 178 Materially both groups have accepted a great deal from the white man. Wooden houses have replaced native shelters. Factory clothing is worn.

Northern Paiute NR13 ●

N
W
105
177 ●
178
W
[186]
[668]
[464]

The automobile is used by both groups. Only a few old women among the Washo still weave baskets. Gathering lore is still passed on among Washo women, although there is a tendency to hide this from whites. Only the bedrock mortar, basketry, pinyon picking tools and rabbitskin blankets seem to have survived as useful items in modern Washo life. The colorful paraphernalia of the Peyote Church is, of course, inspired by modern Peyotists and does not represent aboriginal Washo survivals. The Washo have turned to day-labor and odd-jobbing for economic support and have rejected agriculture or ranching, although there is a growing admiration for the cowboy. The Paiute have become to a large extent relatively successful farmers.[3]

Washo change, then, can be characterized as an attempt to adapt aboriginal patterns to the new situations created by the entrance of the white man.

The Paiute, on the other hand, must be described as attempting to find new orientations of social and cultural behavior to meet the changing situation. We see three major shifts in Paiute activity over the past century.

The differences in response have been related to historic relationships with other Indian groups which have their basis in the distribution of the buffalo.

N
105
177
182

It has been suggested that the buffalo once extended much farther south and west than they did in the 1840's and that the Paiute shared a common ecological adaptation with other peoples in the northern part of the Basin. The withdrawal of the bison created two environmental zones but did not break off intertribal relations based on the former common subsistence patterns. Thus, when the Paiute were further impoverished by the introduction of white livestock into their gathering areas they responded by taking up the horse and a modified war complex, as revealed to them by visiting Shoshoni and Bannock, and entering into hostile actions against the whites. This led the whites to treat Paiutes as a unit, and, after their final defeat, to assign them to reservations. The reservation system not only emphasized Paiute unity and encouraged political development but also provided land for farming.

W
105
177
182

The Washo, on the other hand, lived largely outside the area of buffalo range and therefore suffered no loss or ecological imbalance because the big animals became extinct in the region. Their response to the white man was simply to attempt to utilize what he brought into the new area and to modify the relatively successful Washo adaptation as little as possible. As a result, Washo organization, based on ecology, broke down as the ecology changed. The Washo lost even the minor tribal structure they had once had; bands changed and finally disappeared. The lack of unity prevented this group from

3. This success must be viewed in relative terms. It is more accurate to say that the Paiute think in terms of stock raising and farming but most Washo do not.

obtaining lands on which to farm, and allotment lands, scattered and unsuitable for farming, were obtained only after the turn of the century as a result of a single short-lived period of semi-unity under a single head.

What is suggested is that the Plains Indian relationships of the Paiute provided them with a model of behavior which influenced white men's attitudes and actions toward them in such a way that the opportunity for reorientation was presented. The Washo, without models of alternate behavior, made attempts at adjustment which were successful to some extent but caused the whites to ignore and despise them.

Thus the Washo remained scattered on allotments and continued squatting on public and private land totally unsuitable for agriculture and stock raising. Without a reservation, or at least relatively undisturbed occupancy of extensive lands, the Washo were unable to seek alternatives in stock-keeping or farming and were forced to attempt adjustments in terms of interacting with white society as an ethnic minority.

Notes

1. The ideas in this paper were first expressed by the author at the Third Annual Meeting of the Kroeber Anthropological Society, May 16, 1959, Berkeley, California. In a more complete version it was later presented in the Seminar on Acculturation given by W. L. d'Azevedo in the spring of 1959 at the University of California, Berkeley. Subsequent to that time the author has conducted field research among the Washo, supported by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and the Department of Anthropology, University of California. The present form of the paper has been developed since that time. I am particularly indebted to W. L. d'Azevedo for his encouragement of my Washo studies and for access to his extensive field notes and observations. The concepts developed here are, however, those of the author.

2. I am indebted to Professor R. F. Murphy for information conerning Basin Indian "hunting" of wagon train stock (see also Angel, 1958, 145-9).

3. This success must be viewed in relative terms. It is more accurate to say that the Paiute think in terms of stock raising and farming but most Washo do not.